This issue:
A human being is a human being is a human being- the issue of migration in Europe and the responses of adult education

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Migration changes lives. Globalization has created new and radical challenges for contemporary societies. 'New societies' emerge in part through migration. The 'indigenous' find themselves with new neighbours. Situations of migration create tensions within host societies, governments react in diverse ways and educational institutions and individual citizens develop coping strategies. Moreover, this situation also creates the opportunity for political projection of anxieties and problems that were already inherent in the host society, an opportunity which is rampantly used by right wing politics.

'Ein Mensch ist ein Mensch ist ein Mensch ist ein Mensch' (a human being is a human being is a human being …). Thus begins the editorial with the title, Das neue Gesicht der Globalisiering' (the new face of globalisation) of the German weekly magazine Die Zeit (22/9/2014). In this article Bernd Ulrich describes what is at stake today in Germany and in Europe as a consequence of the challenge of migration. Many African, Arab and Persian countries 'find themselves in a radical change that may last several decades' (ibid.). This will trigger massive flows of refugees. What does it mean for Europe, when many of these refugees try to find their way to our continent? 'We can of course try to keep them out of our territories with increasing methods of determent and intimidation. (..) Another possibility would be to turn Europe into a continent of asylum, a place of refuge' (ibid.). If Europe would politically follow such a direction – which is for the moment more than questionable – a paradigm shift would be needed of the same magnitude as the very rapid recovering of (Western) Europe after the second world war, supported by the American Marshall Plan. Such a transformation of Europe into a continent for refugees could, according to Ulrich, be the only 'rational, realistic and modern reaction to the challenges of a globalised world' (ibid). Yet, the success of such response would first of all depend on cultural learning processes, whereby Europeans begin to understand that immigration, in spite of its considerable challenges, is not a threat, but an opportunity for the continent. And, since Europe considers itself as one of the inventors of the human rights, immigration should also be one of its basic humanistic concerns, since a human being is a human being is a human being. In relation to this, research on adult education and learning may contribute to a better understanding on how to deal with these concerns and challenges.

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In studying migrating populations in the USA and Europe, Thomas and Znaniecki reported in the 1920s that a society in which 'emigration had appeared ceased to be as cohesive as it used to be before it commenced' (1920/1976, p.21). Particularly in Europe where modernization has advanced historically through the construction and consolidation of nation states, the belief in the uniqueness of members of the nation (their qualities, culture, history, principles and values) and the sense of unity rooted in citizens' solidarity has been at once constructed and challenged. Consequently, models of citizenship, democracy and social participation have mutated. Identities associated with nations have been both reinforced and dissolved into hybridity. A primary cause of the cultural and political change observable in current European societies is perhaps that of migration and migration effects.

Contemporary social research is interested in how migration processes influence individuals and social relations in host societies. This tends to raise questions about social cohesion and integration. Far less effort is put into the study of the motivations for migrants in leaving a homeland, or migration as a process of education and learning. Individual motivations for migration, of course, vary considerably. Decisions are often made quickly. Migration is no longer understood as a decision taken for life. Facilitated by border mobility, economic globalisation, the omnipresence of communication technology and the consequences of war, etc., migration can also occur swiftly. In this regard, learning and education in the migratory context is an intriguing and complex issue. Learning is necessary for the migrants themselves, but also for the host country residents and for those staying behind. Education and learning (formal and informal) may be identified explicitly as a solution to problems related to the restoring of stability into lives, but it may also be that learning is unavoidable. In their conversations *On Education* (2012, p. 3), Zygmunt Bauman and Riccardo Mazzeo identify learning as an inescapable practice and art in such situations:

> (...) conversion and assimilation, that early modern recipe for dealing with the presence of strangers, is not on the cards in the present context of a multicentred and multicultured world. The need to develop, to learn and to practice the art of living with strangers and their difference *permanently* and *daily* is inescapable (...)

Individual and collective learning is necessary in relation to migration in contemporary societies. Newcomers create learning opportunities for themselves and for the societies they enter. They live on the verge of two worlds and cultures; an educational challenge they need to face (Ligus 2011, p. 191-202). Societies act, often controversially, to give a place to newcomers and make citizens more familiar with new conditions. Education can provide relevant sites to enhance that learning. Education and learning are important strategies in the face of "sequent effects" of migration processes.

In exploring adult learning and education in connection with migration processes, questions pertaining to societies, individuals and educational institutions are posed. What educational potential is generated by migration for individuals and societies as a whole? What educational policies are developed by societies to deal with the challenge of migration? To what extent do researchers of adult and continuing education and learning study and discuss the phenomenon of migration and its consequences?

We have invited contributors to this issue to focus on diverse dimensions of migration and adult learning research: individual, biographical, institutional, social, and political.

The opening text of this RELA issue is *The Learning Migration Nexus: Towards a Conceptual Understanding* by Linda Morrice who points out a number of links between learning and migration. The author also describes the selected theoretical concepts of

learning and analyses the interdependence of the migrants' new identity creation process and their educational activity. Also the ambivalent role of the learning processes in the migrants' social integration is underlined by Linda Morrice, especially by analyzing the formal education programs for immigrants in the EU countries. The author advocates a holistic approach in researching migration and learning processes, that would include time, place, and the newcomers' biography contexts. The article again raises questions, that have were already posed by the Znaniecki and Thomas, regarding the adaptation process in a new socio-cultural context, how it depends on a newcomer's own cultural context (habitus) as well as on the specific conditions of the migration process. The role of learning in the process is invaluable but also ambiguous.

The next article *Is adult education a 'white ' business? Professionals with migrant backgrounds in (Austrian) adult education* is authored by Brigitte Kukovetz and Annette Sprung, who are interested in the participation of migrants (the first and the second generation), as professionals, in the Austrian adult education system and presents barriers and supporting factors in the careers of professionals with a migrant background.

The authors base their investigation on the outcomes of the research project 'Migrants as professionals in Adult Education' and frame the results within the theoretical perspectives of 'critical whiteness studies'. This perspective provides new possibilities for educational research on migration societies by analysing the privileges of the dominant social groups and institutions. Brigitte Kukovetz and Annette Sprung point to some approaches and strategies for widening participation and reducing discrimination in the professional field. Authors consider the question on the structural, political and institutional level: how could a theoretical reflection on white privileges and institutional discrimination be implemented in practice?

The following article by John Grayson *Migration and adult education – social movement learning and resistance in the UK* reveals the range of migrant's and refugees' civic activity in UK since 1945 until the present time. The article is based on the data and evidence gathered during an 'activist research project' conducted among the migrant and refugee social movements in South Yorkshire U.K. The author underlines that the migrants' and refugees' social movements strongly affected the political and social discourse in the UK, but their role has changed as the social movements evolved. John Grayson demonstrates the significant impact of these social movements on the adult education scene, in particular that of the popular adult education in the UK. Subsequently the author analyses the threats that adult education for migrants in the UK faces as the marketization of educational initiatives and domination of the vocational adult education.

In the article *Out of Europe. Agency and biographicity and discourses of ethnic-cultural belonging, inclusion and exclusion* Rob Evans explains the life context, formed by the German media and policy makers, of the young adults who possess a precarious identity. He also critically analyses the political concepts of the *criteria of successful integration* and the *national foreigners.* The author argues that this type of public discourse amplifies uncertainty and the necessity for young adults to balance between the identity constructed upon the culture of their country of origin and the identity based on their daily life in Germany. Rob Evans analyses a case study of the learning biography of a student of Turkish origin, whose learning experiences are deeply inscribed with gender, cultural, ethnic and political meanings.

The last article of this issue *Social housing, multi-ethnic environments and social educators' training* by Flavia Virgilio does not directly focus on the topics of migration and newcomers. It rather explores the process of educating professionals who work in a

multicultural environment (including working with migrants). The design of the training programmes for social educators and NGO practitioners working in social housing projects is based on the outcomes of an international research project, presented in detail in the article. The theoretical framework of this contribution is inspired by the ideas of informal learning, and the concepts of learning for reflexive citizenship and learning for active citizenship.

This issue of RELA also contains an open paper *Education as a response to sustainability issues* by Katrien Van Poeck and Joke Vandenabeele. In their contribution the authors deal with the tension in environmental education and education for sustainable development between acknowledging pluralism on the one hand and taking into account urgent sustainability concerns on the other. They take a guided tour in a Community Supported Farm as an empirical case to reflect theoretically about this tension. Their reflection results into a plea for an educational approach that moves beyond the dichotomy between, on the one hand, teach matters of fact about sustainable agriculture and, on the other, the cultivation of a sheer plurality of values, opinions, and preferences.

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The learning migration nexus: towards a conceptual understanding

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Abstract

Learning and identity formation are inescapable facets of the upheavals accompanying migration; movement across social space inevitably involves reflection, questioning and the need to learn new ways of being and new identities. Although migration is characterised by complexity and diversity, this paper suggests that we can identify key learning perspectives which illuminate the nexus between learning and migration. It argues for an approach which grounds learning in an understanding of socio-cultural space, and highlights the significance of policy discourses surrounding migration and integration. Within the conceptual framework suggested, the nature of learning is seen as multifaceted, and as having the potential to have both positive and negative outcomes for migrants.

Keywords: migration; learning; identity; transformative learning

Introduction

Migration is driven by many complex factors: a better life, the belief of greater opportunities to study or work, to join family and friends. Many however, are forced to move – refugees fleeing persecution, conflict or natural disasters or victims of trafficking. The complex mix of reasons which might cause migration, are coupled with an understanding that migrants are social beings, whose migratory experiences are shaped and conditioned by ethnicity, race, gender, social class and position in the life cycle. These social differences cross cut and interact effecting migratory strategies, integration outcomes, life chances and opportunities in the country of destination.

This paper argues that learning and development are inescapable facets of the upheavals which accompany the migration process, but given such complexity and diversity, asks how we can begin to understand the processes of learning and identity formation as migrants seek to adjust and establish themselves in a new context? What are the conceptual and theoretical frameworks and understandings which can help to make sense of migrant experiences and outcomes? The first part of this paper sets the scene by outlining the key trends in contemporary migration in Europe. I will then draw upon some of the learning perspectives which might shed light on how we can understand migration through the lens of learning. I will suggest that learning has to be

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contextualised: that we cannot understand migration and learning without reference to movement across social space, and an understanding of the social and cultural space in which the migrant ends their journey.

Contemporary migration in Europe

Castles and Miller (2003) identify five general trends in contemporary migration which are worth briefly paraphrasing. *Globalisation*: a tendency for more countries to be affected by migration and a broader spectrum of economic, social and cultural background of migrants. The *acceleration* of migration: the quantitative growth in population movements in all major regions; the *differentiation* of migration: countries are experiencing a range of types of migration at once, e.g. labour migration, family reunification and refugees. The *feminisation* of migration: women play a significant role in all regions and in most, but not all, types of migration. Finally, the growing *politicisation* of migration: national and international security policies and domestic politics are increasingly affected by international migration.

These processes and the dramatic increase in migration are evidenced by rapid and highly visible social and cultural change. Unlike the migration flows of most of the last century, one of the defining features of contemporary migration is that the overwhelming majority of those who move come from countries of greater social, cultural and often racial "distances" from the countries they seek to enter (Papademetriou, 2007). In 2005/06, almost 11% of the population in the OECD was foreign-born. Latin American and African migrant populations increased by more than 30% between 2000 and 2005/06, only slightly more than that of Asian migrants (27%) (Widmaier & Dumont, 2011).Within these figures there is considerable diversity in terms of the reasons for migration and the educational backgrounds of those migrating. OECD (2012) research[1] found that in 15 European countries for which data was available, over half of migration is for family related reasons: 27% for family formation or reunification and 25% entered under the age of 15. Over a quarter of immigrants entered for professional reasons; only 6% stated they had entered for humanitarian reasons, 5% as students and 8% for other reasons. Furthermore, there were important differences across countries: family related migration is particularly significant in France, the Netherlands and Norway. Conversely, between 40% and 50% of immigrants in Greece, Italy, Ireland and Spain had migrated for work. Approximately 18% of immigrants settled in Sweden had entered for humanitarian reasons. Inevitably, the experience of migration and the integration outcomes for immigrants will vary significantly depending on the category of entry, country of settlement, country of origin and educational attainment. One key trend which was widespread was the over qualification of migrants: the report found that on average, 30% of immigrants holding a university degree were working in intermediate or low-skilled jobs, highly-educated migrants tended to have lower employment rates and higher unemployment rates than their native-born counterparts (OECD, 2012).

This diversity makes it impossible to talk of a single migrant experience or to make broad generalisations about the settlement outcomes for migrants. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify some broad commonalities in experience and factors which will impact on the experience. The first of these is that migration involves movement across social space. This evokes intense moments of learning across all domains of life: work, home, leisure, community and family. The degree of cultural distance between the country of origin and the country of destination will influence the extent and depth of

learning evoked, and also the degree to which the resources – linguistic and cultural - which the migrant brings can be utilised. Related to this, migrants are confronted with the need to reshape their lives and, to varying degrees, build and modify their identities. Previous aspects of identity associated with social positions such as work, family roles, community and cultural activities will be transformed. The dominant stories individuals told about themselves might no longer cohere and they are confronted with a need to story their lives differently. Finally, the learning and identity practices which are enabled or denied are contingent on the specific social contexts in which the individual is moving, both the social spaces they have moved from and the social spaces in the country they have moved to. Social context is conceptualised in terms of the broader social and political context, and the social spaces connected with work, education, family and so on. It is these three overlapping and intersecting elements: learning, identity and social space which I wish to explore here.

Conceptualising migration from a learning perspective

The idea that the individual's experience is the foundation and most important resource for learning still underlies much of the discourse and assumptions of Western adult education. This emphasis assumes that adults come to learning situations with experience and that this is at the centre of knowledge production and meaning-making. The centrality of the individual's experience is the defining feature of liberal humanist understandings of learning. The learner in this paradigm has a central role as a meaning maker: interpreting and building frames of reference and constructing knowledge. What has changed over the last 15 years or so is recognition that the process of meaning making occurs across all areas of our daily lives and at all stages in our lives, and encompasses learning in both formal and informal contexts (Commission of the European Communities, 2000). Learning becomes part of our whole life experience and for adults the social milieu, and their engagement with it, is a key determinant of what is learned and how it is learned.

Alongside a widening of the concept of learning has been a deepening of the concept to recognise its embodied and affective significance (e.g. Beckett & Hager, 2002; Hodkinson, Ford, Hawthorn & Hodkinson, 2007). Learning is not solely, or even predominantly, about acquisition of skills and knowledge but is a more holistic process: body, mind and emotions are intrinsic to the construction and transformation of life experiences which then become integrated into the individual's biography. It is through the integration of learning that the self is constructed and identity is transformed. The work of Lave and Wenger (1991) usefully highlights the informal learning and meaning making which occurs in social encounters and as part of every day practices in any location. It also encapsulates the idea of change through learning, in the centripetal movement in a community of practice from newcomer or novice, to full membership and competence. Learning is an essential part of being human and an essential way in which identity is constructed and changed over the life course. Hodkinson et al. (2007, p. 33) propose a similar view of learning as being about the construction of the self '[p]eople become through learning, and learn through becoming'. By conceptualising learning as part of being, and also part of the ongoing construction of the person, they argue that learning, identity and agency are interwoven in people's lives such that there is no clear separation between them. A similar understanding is suggested by Alheit and Dausien's concept of biographical learning: learning is interactive and socially

structured, but it also follows its own "logic" generated by the specific, biographically layered structure of experience (Alheit & Dausien, 2002).

Jarvis (2009, p. 1) captures the breadth and depth of learning in his formulation that learning is:

> The combination of processes throughout a lifetime whereby the whole person – body … and mind … - experiences social situations, the perceived content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (or through a combination) and integrated into the individual person's biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person.

Learning is an on-going project and consequently identities are permanently shifting, continually being formed and reformed in different contexts; crucially this occurs within the social, political and public discourses in which the individual is located. As the cultural theorist Stuart Hall describes:

> [...] identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions (Hall, 2000, p. 17).

Recognising the significance of learning and identity formation through daily social encounters and practices is important to understanding migration from a learning perspective. The process of migration disrupts inherited frames of meaning and the accumulated biographical repertoire of knowledge and understanding; migrants are required to learn new behaviours, quite probably a new language, understand new rules and to adapt to new values and another type of social space. It is difficult to imagine any other life event in which learning becomes so wholly part of daily life experience, with few, if any, aspects of life left untouched by the need to learn. For migrants learning is an inevitable part of life.

The notion that learning occurs when individuals are faced with situations which are new and unfamiliar, or where they are confronted with what they don't know and perhaps need to know, is influential in adult education. Jarvis (2006) suggests that the disjuncture between biography and experience is at the start of all learning processes. He describes episodes where 'our biographical repertoire is no longer sufficient to cope automatically with our situation, so that our unthinking harmony with our world is disturbed and we feel unease' (Jarvis, 2006, p. 16). He goes on to suggest that the need to try and re-establish harmony 'may be amongst the most important motivating factors for most individuals to learn (Jarvis, 2006, p. 77).

Mezirow's work on transformative learning (1990; 2000) also focuses on situations of disjuncture in individual's lives. He defines transformative learning as:

> the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (…) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action (Mezirow, 2000, p. 8).

A central proposition is that when an individual's 'frame of reference' or 'meaning perspective' is discordant with their experience, a 'disorientating dilemma occurs', individuals begin to critically reflect on and question the validity of their inherited meaning perspective, and transformation of perspective can occur. This involves structural change in the way we see ourselves and our relationships. Indeed Mezirow

suggests that the most significant learning 'involves critical premise reflection of premises about oneself' (Mezirow, 1994, p. 224). The learning processes involve different degrees of comprehension and 'mindfulness'; they may be the result of deliberate enquiry, incidental or 'mindlessly assimilative'. Taylor (1994) has drawn on Mezirow's theory to understand the development of intercultural competence among migrants. From disorientating dilemma or 'culture shock' he suggests that Mezirow's (1991) ten stages of perspective transformation are analogous to the movement from lower to higher levels of cultural competency.

Some key points emerge from these conceptualisations of learning which are particularly significant for understanding migration. The first is the importance of biography and attention to the totality of an individual's life. At the core of these conceptualisations of learning is individual experience – what learners bring to the learning situation, their inheritance from the past. Also implicit in these conceptions of learning is that an individual's learning biography is sequential, and that no one point can be understood without looking at what preceded it. It is not only the cultural and social background which is woven into the lives and identity of migrants, and their motivations and hopes for migrating which is significant, but also the different roles and identities taken up in their pre-migration lives. An understanding of these pre-migration identities and experiences helps us to understand migrants as whole beings with aspirations, expectations and dreams. It enables us to transcend the identities imposed by the immigration system for instrumental purposes: refugee, asylum seeker, undocumented, family reunion, student or labour migrant. In the process of categorising and defining much is assumed, and other existing and potential identities are negated. In order to understand how individual migrants might seek to reconstruct their identity, and the strategies they might employ, it is necessary to go beyond the imposed identity categories and consider their individual life history and how the social and cultural experiences which shaped their lives prior to migration now impinge and influence their experiences as migrants.

Implicit in these conceptualisations of learning is that individuals will emerge as more confident, competent individuals, that learning brings about positive outcomes and benefits for the learner. Transformations are generally assumed to be positive and to build on previous learning and experience in a linear and incremental way. There is little research or understanding of the negative outcomes and disbenefits of learning (Morrice, 2011; 2013), or what Illeris (2013) has referred to as "regressive transformative learning". As I will go on to suggest, in the case of migrants, the idea that learning may not necessarily be linear or positive needs to be considered.

We have seen how learning and identity are inextricably linked in these formulations, and have suggested that identity practices and formation occurs within specific social contexts. It is the wider policy, social and power discourses which can shape and constrain identities, privileging some while marginalising others. Whether identities can be enacted is highly contingent on the power-laden spaces in and through which our experiences are lived, and whether such identities are recognised or accepted in particular spaces. The systematic operation of power defines 'who can claim a particular identity, where, and who cannot, who is in place and who is out of place' (Valentine & Sporton, 2009, p. 748).To develop these points further necessitates an understanding of social context in which learning and personal transformation processes occur.

Situating learning in the social world

The work of Bourdieu (1977; 1998; 1999) provides some useful tools for thinking about learning, identity and social spaces. In his framework, the concepts of social capital (social contacts and networks) and cultural capital (education, cultural knowledge) are fungible resources which can be drawn upon to bring advantage to the holder. Crucially, in order to bring benefits to those who possess them, they have to be recognised as legitimate in the field or social space in question. Only then can these resources be converted into symbolic capital and bring advantage. Bourdieu's notions of field and capital work in tandem with 'habitus', a concept which describes the embodied dispositions, values and ways of thinking which derive from our upbringing. Habitus is described as permeable and as continually being restructured by the individual's engagement with the social world. It is 'an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal!' (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 133). Bourdieu offers us a view of the social world that is above all relational. We can only make sense of social realities in terms of the relative ownership of various forms of capital in the field, the relative positions actors occupy within social fields and also by the structural relations between fields. This offers a particularly salient framework in which to locate migration and the attendant learning and identity processes.

Individuals are born into a particular habitus and will inherit ways of thinking, attitudes and values; they will acquire the cultural and social capital necessary and appropriate to move and exist within their particular social milieu. All the time an individual exists within a social world of which they are a product, they do not feel or notice the tacit rules, norms and traditions which govern activity. Instead, life is experienced in a taken for granted or unthinking way. The social and cultural capital accumulated is generally recognised as legitimate and has an exchange value; therefore individuals can draw upon their cultural capital in order to access appropriate education and employment opportunities. Their social capital can be drawn upon to navigate their way around systems and to access societal resources. However, with movement across social space, one of the commonalities shared by all migrants, this can change dramatically. The capitals which migrants have accumulated might not be recognised as legitimate and may have little or no exchange value in the new field.

The habitus which prior to migration had operated at a largely unconscious level encounters a new social space of which it is not a product. At this point it becomes: 'a habitus divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalence, and therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of self, to successive allegiances and multiple identities' (Bourdieu, 199, p. 511). These are moments of dislocation and discontinuity with the past, which generate periods of intense reflection and learning. This notion of a habitus divided against itself clearly resonate with Mezirow's "disorientating dilemma" and the need to develop a "superior perspective", Jarvis's disjuncture between biography and experience and the "need to re-establish harmony", and also Alheit and Dausien's understanding of a "biographical stock of knowledge" which remains implicit and tacit 'until we find ourselves stumbling, or at a crossroads' (Alheit & Dausien 2002, p. 15). But how this occurs, what learning might take place and what identities might be enacted will be dependent on the new social space or field in which migrants are located, and most especially, the policies, social and political discourses concerned with immigration, integration and lifelong learning. How these discourses construct migrants, and the extent to which

there are systems and mechanisms in place for the recognition and conversion of migrants' cultural capital will have a profound effect on learning and identity.

The formal learning which migrants can engage in and the employment opportunities available to them will, to a large part, depend on whether there are processes in place to validate and recognise academic, vocational and professional qualifications and competencies which they bring with them. In order for migrants to be able to enter appropriate learning programmes, or to work in employment corresponding with their qualifications, the recognition system has to be clear and easily accessible. That is, there needs to be mechanisms in place for the recognition and conversion of capital into symbolic forms in order for it to have exchange value. Although the methods and systems for recognising foreign qualifications vary across European countries, research funded by the European Commission found that responsibility for assessing and recognising qualifications was fragmented in most European Union [EU] countries, and that this was likely to discourage migrants from seeking to get their qualifications recognised. Furthermore, there was a lack of awareness amongst employers and migrants of the functioning and outcomes of recognition processes (Schuster, Desiderio & Urso 2013). The report concluded that policies hampered migrants' ability to find their way around systems and utilize their existing capital. The report stated that '[i]n most EU Member States, foreign qualifications, especially if earned in third countries, are largely discounted in the labour market. The same applies to work experience abroad' (Schuster, Desiderio & Urso 2013, p. 18). Research has also indicated how lack of relevant social capital contributes to the underemployment and deskilling of migrants (Morrice, 2007; Cardu, 2007). In her study of female migrants, Cardu lists a number of reasons including lack of knowledge of the labour market (where to go, how to make skills known, how to access internships), and lack of networks to help them familiarise themselves with the work culture, such as how to behave during a job interview (Cardu, 2007).

Unable to convert existing cultural capital, and as relative newcomers possessing limited relevant social capital to navigate the unfamiliar systems, we can see how one of the key trends across all categories of migrant and all European countries is that migrants are consistently reported as experiencing higher unemployment rates, as being underemployed or overqualified for the jobs they are doing. For example, according to Eurostat the employment rate among third country nationals was 10% lower than that of the total population. When employed, migrants were much more likely to be employed in jobs where skill requirements are lower than their educational attainment and/or their professional qualifications (Eurostat, 2011). Research also found that migrants face 'severe discrimination' in the labour market; they are less likely to be hired, even where their qualifications are similar to non-migrants (Huddleston, Niessen & Dag Tjaden, 2013, p.6). Migrants not only experience higher levels of unemployment, but they have a lower level of income and particularly those from outside of the EU have a significantly increased risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2011). Deskilling particularly affects migrant women who, according to the International Organisation for Migration [IOM] face 'double disadvantage', with those from visible minorities being 'triply disadvantaged' (IOM, 2012 p. 165-166). The report found that migrant women from third countries (i.e. not from an EU member state) were at greater risk of unemployment than third country migrant men, EU migrants and native born women. Highly educated migrant women born outside of the EU are twice as likely to be employed in low skilled jobs as EU born and native born women with the same level of education (IOM, 2012).

In education, migrant students are less likely to be referred to higher track education even when their grades are similar to non-migrants, and foreign trained migrants' qualifications are often not recognised (Huddleston, Niessen & Dag Tjaden, 2013). Brine (2006) argues that European policies around lifelong learning are underpinned by a structural hierarchy of learners. She suggests that different learners are constructed within two discernible discourses: a discourse of the knowledge economy, which consistently relates to higher level graduate learners; and a discourse of the knowledge society, linked to discourses of social cohesion and political stability, which is concerned with learners who have low skills or who are unemployed. The latter are the gendered, classed and "raced" learners needing basic and social skills training. Education and training initiatives for this latter group are more concerned with ensuring social and political stability than enabling them to develop high level skills for the knowledge economy. Migrants, regardless of the level of skills and qualifications, appear to be positioned in the discourse of the knowledge society with fewer opportunities than non-migrants to participate in the knowledge economy.

This focus on stability and cohesion is reflected in integration policies and practices across Europe which have increasingly been concerned with ensuring that migrants adopt the language and cultural values of the host country, and this is seen in the increasing use of compulsory pre- and post-entry integration measures. In his review of integration policies in nine European countries Perchinig (2012) suggests that there has been a shift in integration policy across Europe. Up until the 1990's integration was based on a rights-based framework, focusing on legal equality, security of residence and social and political participation. In this framework, the state was the main actor responsible for removing barriers and ensuring appropriate support was in place for migrants to have equal access to education, the labour market and society more generally. In the 1990's integration policies were re-framed around a duty based concept which shifted responsibility to the individual migrant. Compulsory measures aimed at the individual migrant: language classes and testing, classes in civic education and testing about the history and political system of the country, became a core part on integration policies in many countries across Europe. The Netherlands were the first with the introduction of the 'inburgeringsbeleid', in 2003 Austria introduced an 'Integration Agreement', followed by the 'Contrat d'accueil et de l'integration' in France. In the UK a 'Life in the UK' test was introduced in 2004 with many other countries following suit. Increasingly countries have also adopted pre-entry language conditions for family re-unification, and in Austria and the UK for admission as a qualified worker.

Integration has become an identity issue with migrants having to prove their willingness to integrate by attending classes and passing tests. In this framework migrants are expected to demonstrate a commitment to the values and cultural traits of the host country (Perchinig, 2012). This shift points to the growing politicisation of migration and concerns about national identity across Europe. These concerns have been exacerbated by the economic crisis which has affected the perception of migrants' role in Europe: a number of countries have tightened their immigration policies, populist parties across Europe have capitalized on the idea that immigration is fuelling unemployment for native-born workers, threatening national identity and community cohesion. High profile debates about integration and a questioning of multi-culturalism have been taking place across Europe (Collett, 2011).

It could be argued that these policy initiatives are underpinned by an agenda of social and moral regulation; that policy is constructing migrants as morally problematic, in need of civic education in order to acquire the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs to

become good or successful European citizens. This deficit construction sees migrants as a problem to be contained and managed, rather than an asset or resource to be developed. At the same time, migrants are positioned in policy and practice in a way which affords few opportunities to convert and trade up the capitals they possessed into symbolic capital, and educational and employment reward. Migrants learn that their linguistic skills, education, employment qualifications, skills and experience are 'non-resources' and cannot be converted into other resources or symbolic power to bring advantage in the labour or education market. Research into the psychosocial impact of deskilling found that underemployed women 'had feelings of hopelessness, powerlessness, confusion and paralysis, exhaustion, stress, anxiety, depression, unhappiness, tension, frustration, worry, isolation and a feeling of not belonging, and shame' (IOM, 2012, p. 166).

In Bourdieu's framework (1977; 1998) policy and social discourses can be thought of as schemes of perception and classification which symbolically construct groups and ensure that relations of subordination and domination are reproduced. Policy and the language it uses impose taxonomies, identities and institutes entitlements and rights. It defines what kind of migrant subject it is possible to be, and in the case of education and employment what opportunities are available.

Discussion and conclusion

In attempting to develop a framework for understanding the learning-migration nexus I have suggested that learning is usefully conceptualised in its widest sense to encapsulate learning through and from everyday social practices and interactions. I've drawn attention to learning as involving more than acquisition of skills and knowledge – the focus of formal learning programmes embedded in integration strategies targeting migrants. More useful are conceptions of learning which recognise that learning has to do with change of the whole person, their identity and self perception, and that this inevitably involves a deep affective dimension. For migrants, the disjuncture between past and present, the old social space and new, involves rethinking the self, identity and possibilities of being, across all domains of life.

How this occurs will depend in part on a number of variables such as the cultural distance between the old and new spaces, and the nature of ongoing family and other connections with the space they have come from; the motivation for migration and the degree of choice, and consequently the scope for planning and agency. How migrants are classified and categorised in immigration policy will also significantly determine their rights and entitlements to education and employment; asylum seekers, for example, are denied opportunities to work and to participate in education in many countries. There are also very significant differences in the outcomes depending on entry status; for example women entering through family reunification, asylum or student routes fare worse than those entering as labour migrants (IOM, 2012). Any conceptual framework also has to recognise migrants as social beings with particular attributes: gender, social class, ethnicity, religion, education, age and stage in the life cycle, all of which will affect the way that migration is experienced and managed. Biographical or life course approaches offer a holistic approach to understanding migrants as individuals who have moved across space, who have pasts, presents and futures. It enables us to look beyond the taxonomies imposed by policy, opening up scope for understanding migrants as individuals with multiple identities some of which may be enabled in the new social space, while others might be denied or marginalised in

the new social space. These pre-migration characteristics and identities will influence and shape the learning processes and identity construction in a new context.

The brief sketch of some of the most relevant policy indicates the significance of public and policy discourses, and the social space in which they are embedded, to understanding the learning experiences and identity processes of migrants. Migrants are placed into symbolic structures of inequality, determining what economic and educational opportunities are available to them and limiting their access to different forms of capital. Integration policies across Europe tend to construct migrants as in deficit, requiring the addition of citizenship knowledge and language skills; there are few opportunities and mechanisms in place to support migrants to demonstrate or build upon existing cultural capital. Coupled with these policy discourses are the increasingly negative perceptions of migrants in public and social discourses. In this context, learning for migrants may not always be positive, it can also involve learning that they cannot use their social and cultural capital to establish themselves and that previously held high status identities cannot be taken up. This suggests that there is unpredictability around migration and learning: learning is multi-faceted and can have both positive and negative outcomes for the migrant. Positive outcomes may include developing cultural and linguistic competencies or personal change towards something better. But there is also the possibility of negative outcomes: the impact on subjectivities of prejudiced social discourses, and the way education and employment are circumscribed and scripted by policy which shapes and constrains the identities that are possible. Migrants are not always able to build on previous learning, and learning will not necessarily or always lead to improvement or be rewarding. There may be significant gaps between the imagined identities and the realised identities, so that migrants may well have to adjust their sense of who they are, and what they can be in the world.

Endnote

[1] The report draws on surveys conducted by the OECD over a five year period, and on national reports compiled by OECD countries.

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Is adult education a 'white' business? Professionals with migrant backgrounds in Austrian adult education

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Abstract

This paper is based on an applied research project, which examines the participation of migrants (first and second generation) as professionals in Austrian adult education. We present selected outcomes concerning barriers and encouraging factors in the careers of professionals with migrant background. Our main findings show the importance of the recognition of credentials, of social capital and of strategies to avoid discrimination on behalf of the institutions of adult education. Introducing the analytical perspective of critical whiteness, we conclude that Austrian adult education still has to reflect its own role in terms of white privileges. Finally we point out some approaches and strategies to widening participation and reducing discrimination in the professional field.

Keywords: critical whiteness; adult educators with migrant backgrounds; social capital; institutional discrimination

Introduction

Europe's demography has been changing, not least because of on-going processes of migration. The EU-27 foreign born population in 2012 was about 50 million people. Of this numbers, 17.2 million people were born in a different EU-27 Member State while 33.0 million people were born outside the EU-27 (Eurostat, 2013). Austria, where our research takes place, is one of the countries with a rather high migrant population—17.7% of the people living in Austria in 2012 were foreign born.

Migration can be seen as a driving force as well as a consequence of globalisation. It causes far-reaching social change in the host countries, but also in the countries of origin—for instance in terms of the labour market, brain drain/brain gain, remittances back home, the influence on family structures, the emergence of new global inequalities, etc. New patterns of mobility, among them transnational migration, are appearing; these change the ideas of identity, space and relationship-building (Pries, 2008). Dealing with migration has become a topical issue in every sphere of society. Consequently, this development also has a great impact on adult learning—in terms of

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policies, institutions, concepts and research. Target groups are changing, new requirements for teaching and training are in demand, new actors and institutions are emerging.

The European policy addresses these phenomena with a variety of actions, which range from restrictive and inhumane border regimes—to 'defend' the EU against third country immigrants (Hess & Kasparek, 2010)—to the establishment of anti-discrimination strategies and the facilitation of mobility within the European Union (e.g., through the development of the European Qualification Framework). We can find the same pattern on a smaller scale in national policies like that of Austria.

European policy discussions include questions of diversity in adult education and anti-discrimination policies, thus they influence the domain of adult learning. The European Union is paying attention to discrimination in many ways—from monitoring (carried out by the Agency for Fundamental Rights[1], based in Vienna) to the funding of diverse programmes to promote equal opportunities, e.g., looking to labour market issues within the framework of the lifelong learning programme of 2007 to 2013[2]. The non-discrimination Governmental Expert Group enhances good practice contributions in intercultural education, which should involve 'respecting, recognising and celebrating the normality of diversity', and 'promoting equality and human rights and challenging discrimination' (Crowley, 2012, p. 10). Another example: The European Agenda for Adult Learning 2011 seeks to promote equity and social cohesion through adult learning—with migrants being one of the target groups for strategies aiming at strengthening social inclusion and improving access to adult learning (The Council of the European Union, 2011).

As can be seen with these examples, the dominant perspective concerning 'migration and adult learning' focuses on immigrants as participants in adult and continuing education, often in a deficit-orientated manner. From the viewpoint of critical whiteness studies (e.g., Lund & Colin, 2010a), we want to state that migrants rarely seem to be thought of as professionals, decision makers or leaders in the field of education—we are certainly comfortable making this claim in the German speaking context. What is framed as a non-questioned 'normality' in most cases is the idea of 'native' instructors on the one side and migrant learners on the other. We want to bring about a change of perspective via our paper by presenting selected outcomes from an ongoing Austrian applied research project (03/2012 to 02/2014), which focuses on the situation of professionals with migrant backgrounds in adult and continuing education. In particular, we analysed the barriers to and the beneficial conditions for migrants' representation in this professional field along with their access to appropriate qualification programs.

The findings presented have to be seen in the context of the mere statistical representation of people with migrant background in Austrian adult education. Evidently, migrants are underrepresented *as participants* in Austrian adult education. The Adult Education Survey 2012 pointed out that 35.4 % of foreign citizens and 46.8 % of Austrians (age 15 to 64) participate in non-formal continuing education (Statistik Austria, 2013b). These figures also include German courses attendance, which is obligatory for non-EU citizens who want to settle permanently in Austria. The underrepresentation of several groups, such as migrants from Turkey and the countries of former Yugoslavia, is even more distinct. Among other reasons for low participation rates, the institutions of adult education themselves cause exclusion, for example by institutional discrimination or because of a certain 'culture' within the organisation. We could call it, referring to Gogolin (1994), the 'monolingual/monocultural habitus' of the education system. A 'white dominance'[3] also becomes manifest, besides other factors,

in the absence of diversity amongst *employees*. In Austria, there are no solid statistics about that issue, but some empirical studies show the tendency that migrants are rarely represented on qualified posts in adult education (Pohn-Weidinger & Reinprecht, 2005). Within our own project, we conducted an online survey addressing selected qualification programmes that lead into the professional field of adult education. First findings show an underrepresentation of several groups. We estimate that less than 14% of participants of relevant qualification programmes have migration background, whereas nearly 19% of the total Austrian population has migration background (Statistik Austria, 2013a[4]). People coming from non-EU countries seem to be even more underrepresented.

In our paper we will first briefly outline the concept and aim of our research. We will then analyse barriers and assistance in the adult education system which migrants experience when they try to gain access to employment in that sector. We explore our question by spotlighting the perspective of professionals with migrant backgrounds themselves, based on the outcomes from our qualitative interviews.
To this end we will discuss four main aspects:

- The role of formal qualifications and the necessity of further educational measures
- The importance of social capital and recognition
- The role of discrimination and racism
- The structural, political and institutional framework

We will frame our results within some theoretical perspectives from critical whiteness studies. They open new perspectives of educational research and practice on looking at migration society by analysing the privileges of the dominant social groups and institutions. We conclude with drafting the main implications for institutions active in adult and continuing education.

As there is no standardised terminology, we use the term 'adult education' in the following by subsuming all modes of organised adult learning in institutions, accredited as well as non-accredited courses, vocational training as well as all kind of other courses, including language learning, civic education, etc.

Research project: 'Migrants as professionals in adult education'

Our study explores, as mentioned, the representation of professionals with migrant biographies (focusing on members of the second generation) in the field of adult education. We ask for limiting and beneficial conditions, for structural (political, institutional) frameworks and the individual strategies of the actors and look at the impact of discrimination and racism. With our approach, we want to critically point out the implications for the whole adult educational system and not only the target groups in terms of justice and equality.

The transdisciplinary research is based on grounded theory (using an interpretive-reconstructive approach in analysing the qualitative data). We frame our analysis within the theoretical discourses of representation, critical and intercultural pedagogy, anti-discrimination, antiracism and critical whiteness. We conducted qualitative problem-centred interviews (Witzel & Reiter, 2012), online surveys, focus groups with experts from migrant communities and adult education. Furthermore experts with migrant biographies are involved as researchers within a special setting of participatory research ('Forschungswerkstätte'). The data of the interviews were used to explain the low representation of professionals with migrant background, but also the qualitative

interviews were supporting and specifying the quantitative results. Following the approach of triangulation, the inputs of the participatory research were included in every phase: defining the problem, deciding for special case studies and interpreting the results. The research team cooperates with leading Austrian institutions of adult education so that there is an involvement of practitioners in the research process itself (e.g., in development of the research design, in discussions about the interpretations of data, etc.), a cohesive transfer of the findings and the development of new approaches to practical work within the later phase of the project.

Professionals with migration background in adult education—empirical results

In this paper we present selected findings that mainly stem from a series of interviews with professionals with migration backgrounds. From our interviews, we identified some 'typical' factors which were described as barriers or supporting aspects from the view of our interviewees. They can be seen to be important for 'new' immigrants as well as for members of the second generation[5]. Whenever there are differences between these groups, we will explicitly point them out.

The meaning of credentials and continuing education

Qualifications and certifications can be seen as key in finding skilled jobs, also in adult education. This might be a problem, especially for people who received their credentials in their countries of origin. There have been a lot of discussions around that topic all over Europe in recent years. Of foreign-born residents aged between 15 and 74, 70 % did not earn their highest degree in Austria (Stadler & Wiedenhofer-Galik, 2009). Many skilled migrants cannot find adequate jobs. While 10 % of autochthonous Austrians say that they are employed below their qualifications, 27.5 % of foreign born people make the claim (Statistik Austria, 2012). Findings of an OECD study point out that Austria is one of the 'leading' countries within the OECD in terms of the deskilling of migrants (Krause & Liebig, 2011). The difficulties in recognising degrees are, of course, not the only reason for that phenomenon, but they are a central factor.

The development of a European Qualifications Framework should first and foremost facilitate mobility in the labour market within Europe. Nonetheless this tool is not yet established in practice (in Austria) and does not fit the needs of third country immigrants. For these reasons many migrants struggle with difficult procedures in getting their degrees and diplomas recognised. The regulations for recognition in Austria are experienced as being hard to fulfil e.g., because of a lack in transparency, high costs or the need to retake exams. As one interview partner points out: 'I did not see any chance at all or I had too little information' (Int. Lena). Refugees have to face some additional challenges in that sometimes they were not able to save all of the necessary documents. There might be legal restrictions concerning access to the labour market and education for as long as their asylum status has not been recognised (which can last several years in Austria) and their financial situation is thus often precarious. For a few professions, and especially for citizens from the European Union, the recognition of diplomas takes place automatically—but this does not apply to degrees in the field of education. There are some structural conditions, especially in the sector of vocational training, which exclude professionals with non-Austrian diplomas. An adult educator and sociologist in the field of labour market policy states:

> The rules of the public employment service, concerning also all the institutions of adult education, regulate, who can be employed as trainer or not. Therefore you have to fulfil a specific quantity of points and . . . the problem is, that the experiences often don't suffice and you need to show specific competences or certificates and sometimes migrants cannot fulfil these. (Int. Shilan)

Many institutions are funded by the public employment offices within a competitive, point-based system. The quotation above shows that the qualifications of trainers are a crucial factor (amongst other criteria) in being successful in the competition for funding, so institutions avoid employing professionals who do not possess a recognised diploma—an example for structural barriers affecting professionals with migrant backgrounds.

In our interviews, the second generation, which had been educated in Austria also emphasised the increasing importance of credentials—in terms of accessing jobs as well as in becoming permanently established in a professional field. Most of our interviewees (both first and second generation) told us about their numerous activities in continuing education (to the extent that they could overcome barriers related to financing and German skills). Some felt that certifications were a clear precondition to gaining access to or to keep hold of jobs; others moreover expressed their own desire to feel recognised and competent to do the job by having acknowledged credentials and skills. As one interview partner states: 'Because as a migrant I have made the experience that you have to, I have to proof ten times what I am competent for'.

Continuing education helped some of our interview partners who had been employed as experts in 'migrant affairs' or as native speakers to widen their range of opportunities in the field of adult education and consequently to get out of a so called 'ethnic niche'. Even if migrants take great efforts to fulfil all criteria, in the end many of them are still not successful in the labour market; this also results from racist discrimination and the lack of symbolic capital which many immigrants have to face. Similar results can be found in former empirical studies (Sprung, 2011). Symbolic exclusion takes place in manifold interactions, sometimes very openly and directly, but also as a part of rather subtle processes. These processes stabilise certain orders of belonging which are essentially reproduced by a permanent differentiation between 'we' and 'the others'—a process which was called 'othering' by Said (1991).

Nevertheless migrants might often choose a strategy of qualification because they also have internalised the dominant lifelong learning discourse which is attached to strong market individualism and emphasises individual responsibility in terms of permanent learning (Guo & Shan, 2013). Moreover the Austrian integration discourse is characterised by a clear assimilative tendency and communicates that individual learning is the 'key' to participation. Another reason for extensive participation in continuing education, even if people realise that there is no change in their situation due to this education, could be their simple ambition to take action. There might be a feeling of powerlessness in the face of discrimination and symbolic exclusion, so much so that agency in terms of learning efforts may seem to promise more success.

Finally, our claims should not be limited to the acquisition and recognition of credentials; also the underlying discourses have to be deconstructed to generate awareness of the conditions and power relations that influence individual agency.

Networks and social capital

Another central outcome of our study points to the importance of social capital for accessing jobs in adult education. The networks mentioned in our interviews stemmed from diverse contexts—mainly from learning activities and employment.

Firstly, former participation in education (such as in language courses or vocational training) and in counselling for migrants turned out to be important in terms of setting up social capital. For example, there were trainers or counsellors who remembered their participants and later gave them information about job vacancies. Some of our interviewees were recruited directly within the institution from where they were trained in adult education, and became employed there afterwards. For example, one interview partner explains that he attended a German class and the institution first enabled him to give individual lessons to students and then offered him a regular employment. Professionals like him thus changed from being participants to having professional status.

Secondly, contacts from former employment supported access to new employment—mainly in connection with jobs in adult education and in institutions for the integration of migrants. Some of the people who had already worked in adult education were helped and greatly empowered by colleagues who took the role of a 'gatekeeper'. (Here, we are interested in a specific type of 'gatekeepers'—persons in institutions who have the power to decide about access to or exclusion from relevant transition points (Hollstein, 2007)). These might have been colleagues working at the same level of the institutional hierarchy or supervisors, or likewise instructors during their qualification process. Professionals with a migration background can often access the field by using their embodied cultural capital linked to their place of origin (like linguistic capital)—or their migration experience (e.g., in jobs involving counselling with migrants). We found that some of the gatekeepers especially encouraged our interviewees in that regard—i.e. to get their specific skills involved—because they recognized them to be a resource that could be helpful in meeting the needs of the institution.

> [. . .] my former boss, who […] realised very early these qualities and used them; so he turned them to account and said I should deploy my language skills, because more and more young people with migrant background were participating. (Int. Asenina)

As the number of participants with migrant background is increasing, institutions have to face new challenges. Some gatekeepers also supported individuals in widening their job opportunities, which for them meant overcoming being limited to their expertise in 'migrant affairs'. The support was realised in the form of encouragement and appreciation, as recommendation for further jobs, as offering participation in continuing education and as the assignment of new positions within the institution, including new duties and more power.

We think that in addition to concrete job opportunities, the aspect of empowerment is rather important in this context. Former studies about skilled migrants in adult education (Sprung, 2011) showed that the experiences of migrants can be analysed within a theoretical framework of recognition theory, specifically that of the German philosopher Honneth (1992). Honneth differentiates between legal/political, emotional and social recognition—all three modes of recognition are important for the self-assessment and self-confidence of the individual. The problems concerning the recognition of qualifications are a common example of *failed recognition at the level of rights* and policies. In contrast to law, which should ensure rights to citizens independent of their individual talents and characteristics, social recognition refers to

the individual skills, competencies and the unique personality of a subject. For that reason the experience of being recognised as a competent professional seems to be rather meaningful for the subjects in terms of empowerment and agency. We should thus think about how institutions deal with that topic—do they establish structures which support a 'culture' of recognition, do they implement structures and procedures to fight discrimination, etc.? And what does it mean to recognise a migration biography as a resource without reconstructing 'the other' at the same time? Our results show that using cultural capital linked to one's migration experience and origin is an ambivalent and risky strategy—it may open access to skilled employment and serve as a stepping stone to further career options, but it could also lead to ethnicising attributions and limitations in the professional context.

Private networks were also mentioned, but to a smaller degree (bonding social capital). They were experienced as being useful in a general sense, e.g., by facilitating work-family balance or as leading to friendship with people who worked in education and therefore being recommended to employers.

Our data does not allow an empirically grounded answer to the question whether job related networks are more important for immigrants than for adult educators without a migration biography. Nonetheless if we frame our results using the theoretical ideas of Bourdieu (1983) and Coleman (1991), we could assume that social capital might—to a certain extent and under certain conditions—compensate for a lack of other sorts of capital (like institutionalised cultural capital or symbolic power). Contacts that resulted from the professional context turned out to be more important for career development than private structures of support—which could be defined as so-called 'linking social capital'. Morrice (2007) uses this term referring to Woolcock, who developed Putnam's differentiation between bridging and bonding social capital. Social capital here means involving connections with *relevant* others in positions of power and influence (vertical relations) who are positioned outside of one's own social milieu (Morrice, 2007).

As we can see in our empirical results, participation in education can help in building up social capital and social capital can also help in finding access to further educational options. Consequently, we should reflect on the question of how immigrants could be supported in setting up 'linking' social capital, for example institutions ought to offer appropriate options like internships or mentoring. To find more detailed answers, we will also look more closely at the individual strategies of the actors in our analysis. How do they activate resources? Which skills are needed to develop and make use of networks in a way that turns their contacts into something of value? This analysis is still ongoing and will be presented in further publications.

Discrimination and racism

Processes of 'othering' and the realisation of social networks and recognition via appropriate support can also be framed in terms of discrimination[6] and racism. We identified various additional discrimination experiences in our data that occur through structures or individual practices.

Many interview partners reported that they have been discriminatedboth in their daily lives and within adult education contexts, due to different factors related to their migration background. This can be interpreted as racial ascription (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1998; Kalpaka & Räthzel, 1994). Discrimination due to a foreign accent when speaking German mainly affects people who were not born in Austria and/or have not attended a school in Austria for a sufficient number of years. Other factors are skin colour or a surname indicating that the origin of their family is a country with lower status. It became apparent that discrimination is mitigated or increased by the degree of

visibility and audibility. The experience is strongest if the visibility and the audibility (e.g., via an accent or grammatical mistakes) coincide (see also Karakaş, 2011; Mecheril, 2003) [7]. For those people who have the 'possibility' to hide an origin that is a non-western third state, the experience of discrimination diminishes as long as the people follow a strategy of invisibility.

Especially in the field of adult education, discrimination occurred in people's access to university and in their application for jobs. In some interviews, it became evident how difficult it is to trace personal discrimination in access to the labour market on an individual basis as the procedures and the basis for decision making are not transparent. Our interview partners assessed some experiences clearly as discriminatory: e.g., regarding the invitation to an interview ('I very often have not been invited for an interview, although I totally met the required qualifications. So here I assume that this has to do with my name,' Int. Miriam). A director of an adult education organisation, who himself has a migrant background, observed: 'I see at a lot of educational projects, adult educational projects, where those people, who are native, sort of familiar, take over the more conceptual and responsible work.'

Professionals with migrant background are often at the same time participants and they therefore also experience discrimination in the context of adult educational measures as noted before (e.g., even in a very open manner, including that other participants do not want to sit next to the interview partner).

Apart from these direct personal discrimination experiences, other kinds of discrimination could be identified. Trainers with migrant background noted derogatory comments directed at migrant participants from colleagues or from participants of the workshops they lead: 'For example I remember a trainer […] who worked with me, I mean, in the same institution, has made remarks without further reflection about participants with migrant background' (Int. Lukas). We assume that this so-called categorical discrimination (Mecheril, 2003) has major impacts on professionals having migrant background because it concerns groups the person identifies with in a certain way. Further kinds of racist experiences in fields other than adult education (primary/secondary school, public services, other working fields, private contexts) were mentioned as being relevant. Discrimination due to other ascriptions (gender, impairments, age) were reported and can be summarised as being intersectional discrimination experiences. To analyse these intersecting effects will be a further challenge within our research, bearing in mind that the precise impact is difficult to evaluate.

Institutional and structural conditions

Essentially, we analyse discrimination and racism by focusing on the structure of discriminating actions and its embeddedness in institutional and organisational contexts. Moreover institutional discrimination, in the understanding of Gomolla and Radtke (2009), does not consider only *one* organisation but the whole set of laws, political strategies, professional norms, organisational structures and established practices and values of the socio-cultural context (Gomolla, 2009).

Institutional discrimination occurs e.g., if a general rule seems to be 'neutral', but has discriminatory effects if the different conditions and circumstances of the people concerned are taken into account.

Discrimination in the field of adult education is not only accounted for within the system in the context of training measures or in terms of contact with colleagues. It is also reported in relation to access to the system. In addition to possible discrimination in recruitment procedures, there are already pre-existing difficulties such as the access to

formal voluntary work in established organisations (More-Hollerweger & Heimgartner, 2009) which can be seen as an opportunity for starting a career in adult education. Moreover interviewees witnessed a tendency for employment on a short-term basis (e.g., as mutliplicators) rather than on a long-term basis, which is disadvantageous in the furthering of one's career.

The poor working conditions in the field of adult education in Austria concern both migrants and non-migrants. Some aspects such as the precarious financial situation of people with migrant background or the recognition of the problem of credentials could entail an even more precarious situation for professionals with migrant background.

Theories of institutional discrimination explore discrimination not only as prejudice or individual acts performed by individuals (or groups) but as embedded in the structures, rules and culture of organisations. They point to institutional responsibility in avoiding racist practices. Theories of critical whiteness add a similar but also different perspective to the discussion. As we will elaborate on below, critical whiteness also points out invisible and unquestioned norms. While the emphasis of the approach of institutional racism is on the strategies for avoiding negative consequences for those who are affected by discrimination, critical whiteness highlights the privileges of those who represent the unquestioned norm—in our case the institutions of adult education and their representatives.

The perspective of critical whiteness

Before we discuss some ideas from critical whiteness studies we would like to make clear our use of the term 'whiteness'. This seems to be important because there are several critical arguments concerning the transferability of the concept of critical whiteness to the European context. The 'race' terminology has a strong biologistic connotation, especially in the German speaking context in connection with Germany's and Austria's history of the Nazi regime and anti-Semitic ideology. Furthermore, terms like '*Black'* or '*White'* are not so much used in the sense of 'race' being a construction, which refers to the heritage of slavery or white supremacy. European racism goes back to colonialism and the concept of 'strangers' in terms of postcolonial migration, etc. One could say that it is not 'colour' but 'territory' (in an ideological sense), which marks the difference (Dietze, 2006). In addition, the new and dominant modes of racism we face in Austria today (like culture-based ascriptions) are mainly directed towards Muslims or people who immigrated from certain regions which are viewed pejoratively in the public discourse—this could be migrants from lesser developed third countries as well as from 'poorer' European states. Amongst the most discriminated groups in Austria are Turkish people, immigrants from several EU countries like Romania, parts of former Yugoslavia and refugees from Chechnya. Besides this new racism, we also still find 'classical' forms of racist exclusion, for example towards people of African descent. Thus when we reflect on critical whiteness studies below, we define here as 'non-whites' those people not corresponding to the dominant norm of white adult educators in the broader sense we explained above.

'Whiteness' was already at the centre of analysis in the early 20th century in the critical reflections of Black authors and civil rights activists, e.g., W.E.B. Du Bois or James Baldwin. It was further developed as so-called Critical Whiteness Studies in the early 1990s (Giroux, 1997; Walgenbach, 2008). The concept of whiteness refers to the relation between racial categories and power 'concentrating on the privileges granted only to whites' (Lund, 2010, p. 16). Generally, studies of the white peoples presume

that the subjects of the study are racially neutral, if racism is not being directly addressed (Frankenberg, 1993, as cited in Lund, 2010). Therefore whiteness is invisible, but at the same time it is very powerful as it is connected with a wealth of privileges in everyday life. These privileges become manifest within different aspects, which were listed by authors such as Peggy McIntosh in 1988 and Paul Kivel in 1996 (Lund, 2010). McIntosh tried to identify those factors that are more related to skin colour than to class, religion etc. To give just a few examples, the list includes renting or purchasing in an affordable and desirable area, expecting neighbours to be neutral or pleasant, shopping alone without harassment, representation in the media, criticising the government without reprisal, expecting not to be mistreated in public accommodations, and attending organisational meetings without feeling isolated.

As already mentioned the concept of white privileges has a strong relation to theories of institutional racism and discrimination. They point to invisible and unquestioned norms just as critical whiteness does. White privilege becomes manifest under certain hegemonic structural and institutional conditions. Therefore the claim of critical whiteness reflecting on white privilege has to be strengthened in theories of institutional discrimination. To change structures, institutions should become aware of the advantages they take from the exclusion of certain groups and be ready to give up upon those benefits. McIntosh (1990) compared the notion of white privilege with her experiences in the gender debate. Even though men recognised the disadvantages of women, at the same time they did not acknowledge their own privileges; they could not see their gain from women's disadvantages and were not willing to withdraw their privileges. McIntosh makes us aware that the same is true for white privileges. She describes the oppression as more than individual acts of racism, but more as invisible and unconscious systems conferring the dominance of whites. The system works by pretending that the lives of whites are the norm and even the ideal (McIntosh, 1990). McCann (2008) puts it in a nutshell: 'The invisibility of whiteness exemplifies how whiteness is constructed as a norm, and neutral; thus, it is accepted as a universal standard' (p. 4).

White privileges should also be seen in terms of intersectionality (e.g., McCann, 2008; McIntosh, 1990). McIntosh (1990) points out that not only the advantaging system of whiteness but also those of 'age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation' have to be analysed. By using the concept of white privilege we will not exclude other factors strongly related to migration background such as ethnic ascriptions, nationality or religion. We rather would like to point to the specific shift in perspective. Regarding our research focus, we suggest reflecting on whiteness as the dominant and unquestioned norm within adult education.

A systematic analysis of white privilege within the system of adult education was brought up recently in the journal 'White Privilege and Racism: Perceptions and Actions' (Lund & Colin, 2010b). Various examples of white privileges given by Lund (2010) could also be identified in our empirical research. This includes the observation that white educators rarely know about the theoretical paradigms outside of Western thought. White educators can be loyal to the policies of their institution or organisation at the same time as they remain loyal to their own racial and ethnic group. Non-whites however have to choose between group loyalty or following a strategy of invisibility. Especially regarding the aspect of recruitment practices, it can be stated that for white administrators and educators it is a routine practice to hire colleagues just like themselves without much thought.

Other aspects of white privileges are relevant to the analysis of the adult educational system as well. Who is endorsed and who is urged to speak for which group? Do whites have to fear criticism if they support educators of their own race or of the non-migrant population, whereas do non-whites supporting people of their own race have to fear disapproval? Is it possible for whites in the mainstream discourse to associate racism with something that only happened in the past (such as slavery or the Second World War), while non-whites are confronted with racism in their everyday lives? Can white adult educators decide freely if they want to pick out racism as a central theme? And if they do not, will no one see them as racists? The main overall topic seems to be that 'white educators and learners set the standard for all others in educational expectations' (Lund, 2010, p. 20).

Implications for institutions and practitioners of adult education

Considering the empirical results and theoretical considerations presented above, we want to point out a few ideas concerning institutions of adult and continuing education together with their political frameworks.

If we aim at overcoming white dominance and establishing structures of equality, it is important to raise awareness of white privilege. Aspects of institutional discrimination and white privilege have to be analysed in society as well as in the adult educational system. A critical look at perceptions of norms and standards would be helpful in understanding limiting factors for adult educators with migrant background in terms of their accessing and establishing themselves in relevant institutions.

How could a theoretical reflection on white privileges and institutional discrimination be implemented in practice? In the following we will present a few aspects of this issue.

A) The structural and political level

Several ideas for institutions can be drawn from our research. One major step towards more equality would be the full recognition of foreign certificates. Currently Austrian politics is making some headway in this regard, for example implementing institutions for counselling ('Anerkennungsberatungsstellen') with multilingual services, but there is still a lack of recognition on the level of legislation. Therefore a critical discussion is needed that addresses the importance of recognition policies as the discourse follows the principles of market individualism and ignores barriers like racism and structural discrimination which cannot be overcome through individual (migrant) effort or learning activities. It has to be stated that institutions or companies often profit from the employment of skilled migrants without recognised degrees because these employees do qualified work but earn the lower wages of an unskilled person. Also worth noting is that all claims for recognition up to now do not question the norm in terms of defining appropriate skills for a profession. We only discuss facilitating the adaption of the host societies curricula without reflecting on the possibility that 'foreign' qualifications could include additional, new and maybe even better skills, so that the view of Western societies' definition of appropriate skills as benchmarks could be questioned (cf. Guo & Shan, 2013).

The Austrian Academy of Continuing Education (WBA—Weiterbildungsakademie Österreich) can be acknowledged for its flexibility in recognising the skills and credentials within a framework of professionalisation in adult education. This institution recognises both foreign certificates (if they are translated) and informal competencies.

In this respect, it can present significant potential for migrants in their taking the opportunity to overcome structural discrimination, e.g., financial barriers are sometimes too high and can be bypassed.

In Austria it is still accepted as a given that one has acquired his/her qualifications and diploma in Austria. So beyond the presented efforts *within* the system of recognition, we could change the perspective more radically and think of attaining qualification in a foreign country as the norm. Herein the systems of recognition would have to be made much more flexible. We should ask if it is useful and practical to look at each person and each diploma separately or if it would make more sense to recognise the local educational systems of other countries or regions in their entirety– not only within the EU but worldwide.

Because of the precarious situation of a number of university students with migration background, supportive initiatives, especially regarding funding possibilities, including those coming from public employment services, could be very helpful. In this way more people could be motivated to participate in adult education. This would correspond to a shift from granting access to more socially advantaged people to supporting people from socially disadvantaged classes—also due to an unjust distribution worldwide of opportunities in gaining access to the educational system.

B) The institutional level

Regarding access to adult education, we found that it is important to set up possibilities to reinforce the social capital of potential professionals with migrant backgrounds. As social networks (especially those that were labelled as 'linking' social capital) were identified as being very important for occupational advancement, initiatives such as mentoring programmes should specifically address this target group. Another issue is recruitment practices. One possibility is to support anonymised applications for employment, which is not common in the adult education field in Austria at this time.

This would fit well with an approach of anti-discrimination. It has to be discussed with practitioners whether anonymised applications are an adequate approach for this field or if initiatives for affirmative action would be more effective. This could include a recruitment strategy favourable to migrants through the following of a constructivist personnel policy (Sauer & Schmidt, 2012). These approaches (especially affirmative action and mentoring systems) try to foster migrant access to the existing system of social capital. More generally, we could also question the underlying habit of tending to support and trust most the people you or your confidants know. This would mean a shift in attitudes: the well-known is de-emphasised in personnel requirements, instead the new and the unexpected gains in prominence.

Hiring policy is one of the important aspects of human resource development which should be looked at more closely—also from the viewpoint of critical whiteness. Monaghan (2010) says that actions should also be taken with regard to training, performance, assessment and career development. She advises administrators and adult educators to a) think critically 'about the impact of white privilege and racism on our responsibilities at work', b) to 'speak up and call colleagues out for racist behaviour', and c) to 'be a role model to other whites by genuinely supporting black employees' (Monaghan, 2010, p. 61). Following the ideas of Monaghan, we think that associating a consciousness and practice of critical whiteness does not necessarily have to be connected with a notion or feeling of guilt for whites. As Giroux (1997) points out, it is possible for whites to struggle against white racism while reflecting on their own identity in order to critically rethink whiteness. Specifically in terms of Monaghan's

idea of supporting non-white employees, we found following factors that further one's career within the professional field:

- The culture of the organisation has to be committed to anti-discrimination and institutional openness. To give an example: We had mentioned above from our empirical data the experience of hearing derogatory comments from colleagues about migrant participants. For such cases, there should be a clear policy within the institution concerning how to deal with racist practices. Anti-discrimination efforts must include reflection on one's own privileges in terms of critical whiteness along with the steps involved in overcoming this.
- Using one's own resources should be made possible, independent of dedicated individual superiors, e.g., via a mentoring system or other support programs.
- It is necessary that professionals with migrant backgrounds can freely choose if they want to use the specific competencies they may possess due to their migration background in their jobs (such as knowledge of foreign languages or of another educational system, or competencies in gatekeeping for other migrants). These competencies can be seen to represent educational potential generated by migration. The institutions should provide structures for recognising these competences.
- At the same time, it is essential to promote professionals in their careers according to their individual interests, and to facilitate their work in fields that do not specialise in topics related to migration.

In summary, the results presented lead us to conclude that Austrian adult education has strong tendencies that reflect the white dominance of Austrian society. Various efforts can be made to reduce barriers. A central challenge can be seen in shifting perspectives towards reflection on white privileges.

In this regard, it would be beneficial if the changes focus not only on adult educational practice but also research. As an analysis of German language publications in adult education shows (Sprung, 2013), at least for Germany and Austria, it is true that the scientific emphasis regarding adult education in the migration society is oriented toward questions addressing a specific target group. The dominant perspectives are either deficit-oriented or focus on cultural aspects. Concepts that aim to deconstruct differences, analyse processes of 'othering' or target racism or discrimination are infrequent (Sprung, 2013). We would assume that the perspective concerning the privileges of the dominant social group of 'whites' within adult education, and on the existing power relations with regard to this topic, is even more neglected. Moreover, we assume that the greater valuation of research including whites rather than minorities (cf. Hooks, 1996, as cited in Röggla, 2012) is also true for adult educational research. It would thus be beneficial to include the concept of critical whiteness in future research.

Notes

[1] http://fra.europa.eu/en (retrieved 22.07.2013)

[2] http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc78_en.htm (retrieved 22.07.2013)

[3] As the term 'white' can not simply be transferred to the German speaking context, we explain our use of the terminology in chapter 4, 'The perspective of critical whiteness,' in detail.

[4] Migration background means that both parents were foreign born, wherein the first generation was born in a foreign country and the second generation was born in Austria.

[5] We differentiated between people who migrated themselves and the second generation because immigrants largely have to deal with other problems like the recognition of their credentials, improving language skills, overcoming legal restrictions, etc. 'Second generation' was used for persons who were born in Austria or had taken part in the Austrian primary school system.

[6] We use discrimination as the more general term, including different aspects of exclusion like gender, and others and the term racism for specific forms of discrimination. Migrants can be affected by several aspects which intersect with each other.

[7] Until now we have not found any professionals who wear a scarf as sign of religious affiliation working in adult education–except migrant-led organisations. We assume that this kind of visibility has great impact on discrimination experiences, as a lot of literature points out (e.g. Petzen, 2012).

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Migration and adult education: social movement learning and resistance in the UK

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Abstract

The article is based on data and evidence from a project of 'activist research' in migrant and refugee social movements in South Yorkshire U.K. The article argues that migrants' social movements have been neglected as important in the development of popular adult education in the U.K. The history of migrants' social movements from 1945 is sketched to demonstrate social movement influences on the content and ideological assumptions of state provision of adult education. The history also suggests a similar trajectory to 'old' contentious social movements like trades unions. The current research in migrants and asylum rights movements reported in the article suggests that migrants social movements are active and proficient in developing popular adult education initiatives including critical analysis of racist political and power discourses. The importance of these movements is demonstrated in a case study of a high profile campaign against the privatisation of asylum housing in Yorkshire by the world's largest security company G4S.

Keywords: social movements; asylum; popular adult education; migrants

"So I come back to this question about teaching and learning, which is a form of politics by other means." (Shire, 2008, p. 18)

"I remember the history of those without rights and without property demanding the means to understand and alter their world, of the complicated interaction between their own self-organisation and not only those who would control and buy them also. Those who knew from direct experience, how hard, disturbing, and endlessly flexible any real learning is." (Williams, 1993, p.243)

"Education doesn't mean telling people what to believe – it also means learning from them and with them…if you want to change the world you'd better try to understand it. That doesn't mean just listening to a talk or reading a book, though that's helpful sometimes. You learn from participating. You learn from others. You learn from the people you're trying to organize." (Chomsky, 2012, p. 301)

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Introduction

The article considers the impacts of migration on adult education in one particular part of Europe—the sub region of South Yorkshire, within the Yorkshire and the Humber region of England. I will attempt to assess responses in adult education pedagogy, theory, and provision which have been the reactive responses to labour migration and refugees—and much of the time have been created by migrants and refugees themselves as forms of resistance to, at best conditional welcomes from 'host' communities, and at worst to downright state racism and social and political hostility. The analysis will be framed through the lens of social movement theory.

The article is based on research evidence and investigative journalism from 2009 to the summer of 2013, with structured and unstructured interviews with a large and varied assortment of migrants, (asylum seekers, refugees, undocumented and documented migrants from a wide variety of countries). The research also included structured interviews with workers and volunteers in voluntary organisations and campaign groups (some of which was reported in Crosthwaite & Grayson, 2009; Grayson, 2011). The research evidence and theoretical perspectives are part of a project of 'activist research' (Chowdry, 2012) on popular adult education, which emerges from within social movement practice. Conventional research data from secondary sources have an important place in the methodology, but are matched by primary sources—formal interviews, research conversations and active involvement in meetings, actions, and debates. This research is generated at present from my role as a researcher and adult educator in 'evidence based campaigning' with an asylum rights organisation based in Sheffield, SYMAAG [South Yorkshire Migration and Asylum Action Group].

The research methodology and adult education practice owes much to Marxist and social democratic theorists, and popular adult education practitioners and colleagues, students and members of social movements. Experience of recent work with refugee and migrant social movements suggest that the activist research process can itself become an integral part of an adult educational process, rooted in community research, creating and mobilising 'really useful knowledge' for action by communities. This process mirrors Freirian ideas on critical consciousness with a political dynamic of interaction with 'researched' people and groups.

Really useful knowledge [RUK] here also retains its historical meanings cogently expressed in a letter to the 'Poor Man's Guardian' in 1834 putting the case for learning for action fairly bluntly. 'What we want to be informed about is: **how to get out of our present troubles.'** (Johnson, 1979, p. 84)

Much of the 'knowledge production' in current migrant social movement research actions is built on the notion that interviews, group discussions with, and alongside, refugees and migrants, can not only be transformed into leaflets, posters for demonstrations, and newsletters and websites in practical workshops but also can 'change the world' and get us out of our present troubles. Thus in the G4S asylum housing campaign (see below) statements from asylum housing tenants in interviews and meetings, when recorded and reproduced, become totemic and actually generated action. Consider the case studies below.

- A Zimbabwean asylum housing tenant January 2012 at the beginning of the campaign in a meeting: 'I do not want a prison guard as my landlord' immediately focused on the human rights record of G4S in detention centres and prisons worldwide (he had encountered the company in prisons in Africa as well as detention centres in the UK).

- A mother of a toddler in a squalid asylum hostel: ‘They simply want to make profits out of us, they show us no respect focused on the privatisation of public housing for asylum seekers’.
- Another African mother, with a baby trapped in a house with cockroaches: ‘They give us no respect we have a right to a good house like anybody else’.
- A mother of a four year old daughter living in asylum housing with rats and a jungle of a garden for six months, after the garden had been tidied: ‘At least the neighbours might not mind now, living next door to an asylum seeker’.
- A young man: ‘I do not know why they want to humiliate us—we are simply trying to get a place of safety’. In an asylum reception centre in the grounds of a high security prison, with the camera on his phone he had created a ‘food diary’ with shots of his appalling main meals each day; He had photographed the dirty showers, and grubby dining hall. All for his personal record but he immediately made the evidence available for public consumption albeit anonymously.

The returning themes of respect, humiliation, rights, and demands for treatment, ‘like anybody else’, shine through the data. The whole point about really useful knowledge production of this kind, in a campaign, is that it is designed around statements, which are known to be ‘going public’. The aim is to re-map (Tyler, 2012), the position and status of refugees to influence wider ‘common sense knowledge’, and to change public perceptions. This knowledge is produced to be used collectively. *We* want to get *us* out of here. ‘Please use this information—it will make it better for other asylum seekers’, I heard at the end of many of the interviews.

Certainly the information went into major reports for Parliamentary committees, and into campaign articles on the international website OpenDemocracy.net, which in the period February 2012 to October 2013 recorded almost 80,000 ‘reads’ of the articles—many more reads for ‘asylum’ articles than on *www.theguardian.com*, one of the largest international sites—perhaps really useful knowledge indeed?

These research and publication methods are thus ideally suited to capture the processes of critical learning, organising and changing the world—knowledge production, against the grain, challenging ‘common sense’ and capturing and building on ‘activist wisdom’ (Maddison & Scalmer, 2006).

The use of these research methodologies does challenge basic tenets of research theory—the notion that knowledge production in academic institutions is ideologically neutral. These academic practices have come under internal attack in any event in the U.K. in the social sciences (Allen, 2010), but perhaps have been most dramatically and fundamentally challenged by the unparalleled events of revolt and revolution throughout the world in 2011 and continuing into 2013.

It is important to see this popular anti racist adult education described in the article as a political project, drawing on socialist traditions of adult education critiquing and contesting ‘common sense’ and developing critical consciousness and ‘really useful knowledge’. This involves and demands contesting official public political culture and discourses often articulated in media images. Popular anti racist adult education should facilitate and support political debate and political contestation. Michael Newman has recently described this as ‘teaching defiance’ (Newman, 2006).

An example would be an annual meeting of SYMAAG specifically designed for a number of refugees and asylum seekers who had survived the system to ‘tell their stories’ publicly to organisations and activists. One young woman had spent three years detained in a notorious immigration removal centre and had organised her own bail hearing, saved for a bail bond and was released. Later she sued the government for unlawful detention and won—and still found herself in appalling conditions in asylum

housing. Her testimony resonated around meetings and programmes for action for months—her 'defiance' became inspirational.

The article focuses on South Yorkshire, where I work as a volunteer researcher, campaigner, and popular adult educator in an asylum rights organisation, as a space which perhaps exhibits the challenges and the very real potential open to practitioners and researchers in adult education in other similar post industrial spaces. I take history, memory, and tradition as 'really useful knowledge' as drivers for change rather than inspiration for xenophobia—the 'melancholic celebration of past glories' of Paul Gilroy (2004, p.4). South Yorkshire represents an industrial society and a politics of social democracy (Grayson, 2011), and left social movements destroyed, but also remembered in the current activities and practices of adult education and social movements.

The new migration

Arguably since the 1980's political elites across the globe have been restructuring the world economy, markets and the transnational labour market to regain power and wealth, threatened by the dismantling of colonialism and the growth of 'welfare states' in the period from 1945[1].

A central feature of this restructuring has been the exponential growth in labour migration and the displacement of millions of refugees from the Orwellian 'never ending wars'; the 'Great African War' and recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka, and now Libya and Syria. By 2011 the International Organisation for Migration [IOM] estimated that 214 million people—or three per cent of the world population lived outside their country of birth (International Organization for Migration, 2011).

Since the financial collapse of 2008, Europe has been in permanent economic and social crisis. Adult education has been part of the crisis. The political economy and context for adult education has determined its very nature and also it's potential. The development of popular adult education and its future is embedded and integral to social movements contesting current inequalities and oppressions and the threat of intolerance and racist futures.

With the re-emergence of mass protest and revolutionary demands in 2011, from the Arab Spring through 'Indignado' and Occupy (there were 951 cities in 82 countries in mid October with such movements), to general strikes and workers' marches and rallies, what is now being recognised more than ever is that social movements, particularly contentious social movements, those involved in collective political struggle, have and have had in the past a cultural, and educational role at their core.

Educational systems have always been structured and restructured by broader political and economic trends and factors—adult education is certainly no different. The very term 'adult education' is determined by national histories, certainly in Europe and the Americas. Arguably these specific national histories of 'adult education' have in turn influenced definitions and practice in post-colonial nations and societies across the globe. Social movements, particularly 'contentious' social movements (Tarrow, 2008), have historically been linked to workers education and 'learning' which have been embedded in struggle. In workers' social movements, or 'left social movements' (Grayson, 2011), 'education' was seen as a transformative even revolutionary process to be built in to organisation. Thus this *self-generated* and *controlled* popular education was a central feature in popular working class movements. What adult educators have perhaps failed to acknowledge is that in the U.K. migrants and refugees have been

involved in building such left social movements over the years, and popular adult education has been at the core of these movements too.

Social movements campaigning for migrant and asylum rights and against racism have resurfaced in South Yorkshire over the past few years with an embedded popular adult education agenda (Crosthwaite & Grayson, 2009; Grayson 2011). The geographies of racism and immigration are central to the context for this (Dwyer & Bressey, 2008). Racism and local social movements around resistance to racism, and for the human rights of asylum seekers, have been located in the main in those areas of the U.K. (the Midlands, Yorkshire, North West, North East, and Glasgow) which have been hardest hit by de-industrialisation since the 1980's, the U.K.'s 'rust belt'. These declining industrial areas were also designated 'dispersal areas' for asylum seekers arriving in the South East of England from 2000.

These are also the areas where in the very recent past the far right B.N.P [British National Party] (Trilling, 2012), achieved some of its electoral successes—there are currently (in 2014), B.N.P. Members of the European Parliament for the North West and for Yorkshire and the Humber.

Adult education, history and migrants' social movements

Jeffery Green, an adult educator in the U.S. engaged in 'public history work' has argued persuasively for the 'role of historical consciousness in movement building and in the mysterious processes that create human solidarity' (Green, 2000, p.1). Indeed migrant social movements in the U.K. have always campaigned around their histories. In October each year, Black History month, which began in the U.K. in 1987, celebrates the history and cultures of the 'African Diaspora' and was established through campaigns by African Caribbean movements, it now comprises a range of adult education events in many local authorities. Newspapers, ('The Voice' started in 1982) carnivals (in Leeds, and Notting Hill in London) and organisations (the Institute for Race Relations [IRR]) have all emerged from social movement struggle.

Many of the campaigners interviewed or encountered in the activist research in South Yorkshire, suggest that where places have a history of generating movements, and political activities based on the mobilisation of ideologies and transformational ideas and theories, they survive in memory as what Dai Smith (2010), writing about South Wales has called: 'Societies of purpose (where) it is then not nostalgic or historical wish fulfilment, to work to retrieve and take forward the values, of what was worthwhile in past lives that particularly speak to us, connect with us'(Smith, 2010, p. xx).

Social and community movements based around migration and migrants have been a feature of the historical landscape of South Yorkshire and Yorkshire and the Humber, often hidden by the dominance and variety of indigenous workers' 'community' organisations. A Northern College student survey in the Bentley area of Doncaster in South Yorkshire in 1999, a community with 20,000 residents, found over a hundred local associations for 'community benefit' (excluding leisure, sport etc.). It seems from the research in South Yorkshire, and possibly in Yorkshire as a whole, that here is a 'society of purpose' with a hidden history of migrant social movements linked to a social democratic culture and also to other left social movements.

Migrants doing it for themselves—early adult education initiatives

Early post Second World War migration to the U.K. began with 160,000 Polish Service personnel, (120,000 of whom stayed and settled). Winston Churchill actually offered the Poles immediate citizenship as a reward for their 'valiant' support of British forces (Winder, 2004). In Barnsley interviewees describe a tent city set up in the grounds of a local mansion to house Polish ex-service personnel, who were then moved on to work and housing. The Polish migrants took advantage of the emerging 'welfare state', free education system and local authority adult provision as it developed. But, as with every wave of migration to the present, the migrants themselves organised supplementary 'adult schools' in clubs and social centres in Sheffield and other areas. African Caribbean parents were to set up their own supplementary schools in the early 1970's. The new Polish workers after 2004 also brought self help education to Barnsley with them. In the summer of 2013 local Barnsley Polish workers had established a Polska Biblioteka in the town centre in a trade- union 'learning centre'.

In 1948 the British Nationality Act gave citizenship to migrants from British colonies. By the 1960's labour migration expanded, particularly from the Caribbean and South Asia, (India, Pakistan, then later Bangladesh). In Sheffield there were also steelworkers from Yemen (Aden) and Somalia. Migrant workers arrived in Yorkshire bringing with them different traditions of adult education. Workers from the Caribbean often had long experience of organised trade-unions and socialist parties, which prioritised critical and political adult education.

Trevor Carter (1985) a Communist activist from Guyana described this in his memoir:

> Having indentified education as the key to change…. The first three things most of us did as soon as we arrived were one, find the Labour Exchange, two, find a room and three, look for the nearest institute to register for evening classes. (Trevor, 1985, p.77)

In Yorkshire migrant workers from the Punjab had trade union and political experience in the Indian Communist Party, and formed branches of the Indian Workers Association. Sikh activists became part of the community organising of 'communities of resistance' joining much larger community organisations from migrant African Caribbean groups in organising for protests and direct action. In Leeds in the Chapeltown area these joint campaigns also cooperated in cultural and artistic projects. The area organised Europe's first annual 'West Indian' street carnival in 1967 earlier than the more famous London Notting Hill carnival, and it still survives.

Developments throughout Yorkshire in the 1960's and 1970's reflected nation wide evidence of 'contentious' social movements built by migrants reacting to racist political hostility from mainstream politicians like Enoch Powell, and also neo-fascist movements like the National Front. Direct action was fuelled by attempts by the state and police forces to criminalise dissent and resistance particularly from young Black people.

Black academics and public intellectuals involved with adult education combined campaigning, and political activity with research and analysis for movements, resourcing their actions. The Black Jamaican academic Stuart Hall, one of the founders of the New Left in the U.K., and his colleagues at the Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies at Birmingham University, contested the description of 'mugging' (street attacks and robbery) as essentially a Black crime, in their study *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order* (Hall et al. 1978), and their later, *Empire strikes back: Race and racism in 70's Britain* (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies,

1982)[2]. Thus the 'communities of resistance' (Sivanandan, 1982), and the contentious social movements and 'Black power' groups, had research and adult education resources in the universities, and to some extent in the WEA (Workers Educational Association) and the trade-unions.

In Yorkshire, with the establishment of Northern College in Barnsley in 1979, a residential adult education college in the traditions of Swedish folk high schools and the civil rights college Highlander in the U.S., a resource was created for Black and Asian and other migrant campaign groups and social movements; as well as trade- unions, womens' campaign groups and community groups. Programmes of 'Black Studies' were created with Black organisations in Sheffield, and Leeds (Grayson & Jackson, 2004); and specialist Black staff were appointed, including an Asian South African tutor who had been imprisoned on Robben Island, and worked in ANC [African National Congress] training camps in Tanzania. Black South African trade-union students were recruited for the college and became active links to local antiapartheid groups and campaigns. Chilean refugees from the Pinochet regime became students at the college supported by local trade-unionist and adult education staff. The Chilean students produced research and 'diploma essays' on their refugee experience and the Chilean military coup.

At community level, campaigning and direct action by migrant social movement organisations on occasions meant 'riots' in areas of settlement. There were riots in Chapeltown in Leeds in 1975, 1981 and 1987, in Dewsbury in 1989, and in Bradford in 1995 and 2001. The Asian Youth Movement [AYM] (Ramamurthy, 2013), had emerged in Southall in London in 1977 as a community defence organisation. In 1980 and 1981 there were riots in various parts of England notably Brixton (London), St Pauls (Bristol) and Chapeltown (Leeds) in 1982 a branch of the AYM was set up in Sheffield. The 1980s saw young Asians fight back against racist attacks, and face severe police harassment while doing so. In June 1982, Ahmed Khan was arrested and charged with serious wounding for fighting back against racists, an event that led to the formation of the Sheffield Asian Youth Movement. The Sheffield AYM organised against police harassment and deportations, and to support people being prosecuted for self-defence. It was never simply an 'Asian' group, with Asians, Afro-Caribbean and white skinheads marching with the AYM banner on demonstrations.

As in many other areas of Yorkshire direct action was linked to what the AYM called 'cultural resistance' in the production of newsletters, performance poetry carnivals and music events. In 1983 the first issue of the Sheffield AYM newsletter 'Kala Mazdoor', with its cover slogan 'come what may we are here to stay', appeared. The AYM and its organisation had an emphasis on self and collective education, an education, which was about seeking 'really useful knowledge'. In the first issue of 'Kala Mazdoor' was an article from an anonymous (1983) member of the AYM stressing how important education and access to radical 'book fairs' of Black and Third World books and pamphlets was:

> Like most black youth I felt the need to become politically aware and to re-educate myself. At school, education was of little interest to me but now I wanted to learn what interested me…at the book fair I found endless number of books which enriched my thoughts and ideas, books which related to the history of Black people and the reality of racial oppression. From the book fair the Asian Youth Movement purchased many books... with a view to setting up an Asian Youth Movement library in Sheffield. (Anonymous, 1983, pp. 10-11)

Current research in Sheffield suggests that the AYM membership and leadership either withdrew from politics or sought places and office in mainstream politics in the Labour or Liberal parties. This incorporation of social movement activities and informal education into more formal politics was typical of events in other neighbourhoods of settlement. Max Farrar's work in Leeds suggests such a trajectory (Farrar, 2004).

But if the movements declined the experience and memory of the political skills learnt seem to survive. Recent research with Asian community activists in Bradford suggests that Smith's 'communities of purpose' are relevant to migrant social movement activities (O'Toole & Gale, 2010). Activists remember and build on past struggles.

The door closes and racism grows

By the 1970's with an international oil prices crisis, and less of a need for immigrant labour, the U.K. started closing the door on its Black and Asian colonial citizens. 'Asian' communities from Uganda and Kenya were expelled and some were accepted as refugees but only welcomed if they fitted a compliant stereotype.

Mahmood Mamdani (1973) in 1972, lived in a Uganda Resettlement Board camp for refugees and detainees, and disagreed with the way they ran it:

> What infuriated the Uganda Resettlement Board was not the nature of any particular disagreement, but the very fact of it……The crux of the matter was that we had refused to act as refugees: as helpless, well behaved children, totally devoid of initiative, indiscriminately grateful for anything that may come their way; in other words, dependence personified…we were the children and the Board the father; we the flock, the Board the shepherd… except that we were *not* refugees. Circumstances had deprived us of our possessions, but not yet of our self-respect. For that last possession, our humanity, we were willing to fight. We would have to be *made* into refugees—but there would be no surrender. (Mamdani, 1973, pp. 126-127)

This pattern of 'resettlement' was to dominate future treatment of 'genuine' refugees in the UK and their education for citizenship. Refugees' fight for status and identity became a constant theme in popular adult education projects (see below in the G4S campaign). State funded adult education programmes were, and still remain, based on the image of the refugee as the powerless victim dependent and grateful for 'sanctuary'. The reality that refugees and migrants in general are often educated, highly skilled and often have a great deal of political experience is totally ignored.

For settled migrants the state decided through the Scarman Commission Report of 1981 that unrest and rioting amongst young black people in Brixton in 1981, was about individual 'disadvantage', not collective grievances about the state and policing and civil rights. Thus adult education focussed on Race Awareness Training [RATS] for public sector managers, civil servants and teachers in order that they could manage the crisis amongst young people. Later these programmes became the catch- all category of 'diversity training'. In community development and adult education programmes personal 'oppression' replaced state racism as apparently the real problem. In the UK context anti-racist adult education practice needs to be distinguished from this still dominant depoliticised notion of 'diversity training'. As Lentin (2004) points out:

> An anti racism that seeks to relate racist practices to the disciplinary constitution of modern states, by means particularly of an emphasis on violence and institutionalised discrimination, is often thwarted by a depoliticised discourse that culturalises,

> psychologises and individualises them so as to relegate them to the societal margins. Policies created to combat racism during the post-war era in Europe, most notably both the assimilatory and the multicultural models as well as much of the anti-racism of progressive social movements, have contributed to the development of a view of racism as disconnected from public political culture if not also the practices of the democratic state. (Lentin, 2004 p. 36)

Thus by the end of the 1990's four reasonably distinct strands had emerged in adult education for migrant (or Black and Minority Ethnic) groups:

- Anti-racist critical and political adult education through social movements and their allies in radical adult education practice.
- Philanthropic and 'migrants as victims' programmes for 'disadvantaged' communities funded from 'projects'.
- State funding for compensatory extra education and programmes of 'integration' for citizenship—language classes and citizenship tests.
- Employers and community development top down 'training'; RATS later 'diversity training'.

After 2001 with the '9/11' events in New York, and riots in the former mill towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire, migration became 'securitised' and official state 'training' and adult education programmes in the U.K. moved to depoliticise particular 'Muslim' communities promoting 'social cohesion' as part of the 'War on Terror' (Kundnani, 2009).

The new millennium and new migrations

The last twenty years have witnessed migration on a scale unparalleled in U.K. history. More than seven million people migrated to the U.K. between 1999 and 2011 Net migration increased from an annual average of 37,000 in the period 1991 to 1995 to an annual average of 201,000 in the period 2008 to 2012 (Hawkins, 2013).

From the 1990's conflict and forced migration drove flows in the unstable post Cold War international scene creating what one author has called the 'migration/asylum nexus' (Richmond, 1994). In the U.K. an interventionist foreign policy created refugees from Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia, then Afghanistan and Iraq, to add to flows from unstable former British colonies like Zimbabwe. By 2001 The EU enlargement programme into Central and Eastern Europe increased labour flows so much so that the U.K. by 2004 was undergoing the largest influx of migrant labour in its history.

From the 1990's migrants and asylum seekers were to encounter in the U.K. an economy and a polity which was becoming the most advanced neo-liberal country in Europe, dominated by the financial and service sectors, having abandoned to a large extent export led manufacturing industry.

The political economy of popular adult education also changed in South Yorkshire, and in Yorkshire as a whole with coal, steel and textiles employment gone, replaced by low wage service industry and public sector jobs. The region became the destination of 'asylum seekers' and refugees resulting from the 'dispersal' policies of 2002 where arriving refugees were relocated from London and the South East.

In December 2004 the Yorkshire and the Humber region had the largest number of dispersed asylum seekers (9350) in the U.K. In June 2005 there were 1320 asylum seekers receiving NASS [National Asylum Support Service] support in Sheffield from 56 different countries of origin. There were also around 1500 Slovak and Czech Roma in Rotherham and Sheffield who had arrived with the extension of the E.U. borders in

2004. In 2007 30% of births in the city were from migrant families. Census data suggests that Sheffield's minority ethnic population increased by a figure of 80 percent from 1991 to 2001, to around 45,000 people. By 2011 it doubled again to 19.2 per cent of the population – around 106,000 people. The 2011 census also suggests that there are now around 51,000 foreign born residents from outside the E.U. and around 14,000 from other E.U. countries (For detailed references see Grayson, 2011). As Paul Mason (2007) has observed:

> A culture that took 200 years to build was torn apart in twenty. Today in place of a static local workforce working in the factories and drinking in the pubs their grandfathers worked and drank in, a truly global working class is being created. (Mason, 2007, p. xi)

Northern College and the anti racist response

The dispersal of asylum seekers from 2000 led to racial attacks on asylum seekers in the declining industrial areas where they were housed. An official Home Office report of 2005 covering 77 local authorities stated bluntly: 'The government's policy of dispersing asylum seekers is creating long term 'ghettos' in deprived areas where they are more likely to suffer racial assaults and harassment' (Travis, 2005, December 23).

By 2006 there was a growing awareness amongst groups and organisations in Sheffield that racism was on the increase and traditional attitudes towards political refugees had been replaced by a punitive, and at times brutal, operation of asylum legislation creating in Steve Cohen's memorable phrase 'the Orwellian world of immigration controls' (Cohen, 2006). Activists interviewed in Sheffield in the social movement organisations developed in response to these policies, told me of their anger. One of the leading officers of a refugee centre said simply 'We were outraged at the way asylum seekers were being treated' (Crosthwaite & Grayson, 2009, p. 8). A range of South Yorkshire organisations involved in anti-racist, asylum rights and anti deportation campaigning, mainly in Sheffield, had by 2011, around 400 activists willing to be mobilised for direct action in solidarity with asylum seekers (Grayson, 2011).

These organisations mobilised many activists in their fifties and sixties veterans of trade union struggles like the Miners Strike of 1984/5 and the 'Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire' of the 1980's (in the period when Labour local authorities defied central government cuts in spending and were in return abolished). Interviews with activists suggested that many found, in asylum rights campaigns, a rewarding form of 'subterranean politics' (Kaldor & Selchow, 2012), challenging discredited party and electoral politics.

Solidarity campaigning and political education

There were formal anti racist and asylum rights courses established in the period from 2003 at Northern College, and in WEA programmes (Hartley, 2010; Grayson, 2010). The programme rejected notions of 'diversity training' current at the time, which evaded the central role of the state and politicians in generating racist discourses and policies. The aim of the courses was to mobilise popular adult education as a political project providing 'really useful knowledge', linking to political action in a traditional popular education way. This involved, and demands, contesting official public political culture and discourses articulated in media images with methods aimed at 'myth busting' and media critiques.

The college set out to work in solidarity with anti-racist community organisations and social movements of refugees and migrant workers, organising around local anti racist campaigning. Between 2003 and 2006 Northern College offered a programme of residential short courses of two or three days, called 'Combating Racism', to discuss and develop approaches with workers and activists in voluntary and community organisations. The courses were not offering 'Diversity Training'; they were recruited from, and were resourcing anti-racist organisations in Yorkshire to develop anti-racist working, solidarity and strategies. This residential programme included 'Kicking Out Racism in Your Community', 'Challenging Racism for Community Trainers' and 'Divided We Fall: Resolving Conflict in Communities'. Some courses confronted media distortions with titles like 'Minorities, Myths and the Media'.

By 2005 the College had a range of anti racist short courses and a significant number of both asylum seeker and refugee students on its longer courses. It is perhaps significant that many of these popular adult education methods have been replicated in later social movement educational activities in South Yorkshire and Yorkshire as a whole.

Social movement methods of adult education

The Sheffield asylum rights organisations deploy popular adult education methods for solidarity campaigning—including 'teach-ins' and 'awareness raising' public meetings to mobilise workers and students. One meeting, in April 2009, was entitled 'Atrocious Barbarism', quoting the medical journal 'Lancet' description of the governments proposals to restrict access to health services for asylum seekers. Flyers for the meeting aimed at health and medical workers invited them to 'Discuss the issues, organise resistance'. A hundred workers and campaigners turned out, and a branch of the action group 'Med Act' was formed by medical students attending. The 'teach in' model was also used by in March 2010 for a meeting on 'Asylum Law and Justice'. Over seventy students lecturers, local solicitors, refugees and asylum seekers attended and started the process which established South Yorkshire Refugee Law and Justice in 2011, mobilising and training volunteer legal advisers and researchers for individual anti-deportation cases. Around half the activists in groups like SYMAAG [South Yorkshire Migration and Asylum Action Group] are asylum seekers and refugees; and their work emphasises human rights issues and solidarity through debates and workshops on the refugees' countries represented in South Yorkshire.

The emphasis has now shifted from college and university courses to popular adult provision directly through campaigning organisations. For example Sheffield UAF [Unite against Fascism] has organised, alongside support for demonstrations, workshops to consider new publications analysing the BNP, and a day workshop in January 2013 to look at the 'racialisation' of criminal sex abuse cases. DEWA [Development and Empowerment for Womens' Advancement], a womens refugee and asylum group in Sheffield, has in the last year organised a conference on women asylum issues in Sheffield, and cooperated with the UNITE trade-union South Yorkshire Community Branch in 2013 for welfare rights and campaigning training.

The politics of outrage: social movements and solidarity campaigning with asylum seekers

The 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act established the policy of dispersal from the South East of England for those seeking accommodation, whilst waiting for the outcome of asylum claims, to regions like Yorkshire and the Humber. Frances Webber (2012) has recently described dispersal and asylum "support" policies as a 'monstrous system':

> Whereas the Tories had simply closed off parts of the welfare state to migrants and asylum seekers, Labour came up with a system of institutionalised inhumanity. It accepted responsibility for providing support but its anxieties to appease the right wing press and to create opportunities for the private sector created a monstrous system, which had a lot in common with the workhouse bare subsistence and a deterrent system of coercion, control and stigmatisation. (Webber, 2012, p. 92)

Migrants and asylum seekers resisting and organising

Migrants and asylum seekers have developed a range of organisations and campaigns through 'migrant activism' (De Tona & Moreo, 2012). There is an extensive literature on this resistance (Anderson, 2010; Henaway, 2012; Pero, 2008; Piper, 2009; Sawyer & Jones, 2011; Vickers, 2012), and it has been described recently by Longhi as 'the immigrant war, a global movement against discrimination and exploitation' (Longhi, 2013).

Migrants and asylum seekers have resisted personal horrors, in immigration detention centres in many countries (McFadyean, 2011; Athwal, 2005). They have organised hunger strikes and protests in U.K. detention centres like Yarl's Wood and Campsfield. The Home Office in response has deliberately moved 'trouble makers' from centre to centre to break up organisation (Gill, 2009).

Extensive work in Ireland in the Trinity Immigration Initiative [TII] at Trinity College Dublin, has documented the varieties of migrant resistance networks and activism (Lentin & Moreo, 2012). The research clearly demonstrates extensive organisation and 'migrant activism', but very often in Ireland, not contentious or politicised, but aimed at survival and integration into a hostile, racist host country. This is a pattern observed by Sawyer in research with migrants in Sweden and the U.K. who argues that it is 'of vital importance to pay attention to the "everyday" routinized nature that discrimination and resistance frequently take' (Sawyer & Jones, 2011, p. 242). Interviews and case work with asylum seeker tenants in the G4S campaign (below) demonstrated this widespread, but often individualised, everyday anti racist resistance to the humiliations and lack of respect as they put it, shown in the administration of the asylum support system both by landlords and in local communities.

Campaigning and learning about asylum housing and against G4S 'asylum markets'—the Notog4s campaign

In South Yorkshire the focus of activity from January 2012 for social movements of refugees and asylum seekers has been a campaign against the privatisation of asylum housing in Yorkshire by the world's largest security company G4S (previously Group 4 Security).

In South Yorkshire there was little awareness of the G4S Company apart from the fact that their staff emptied cash machines in town centres, and read fuel meters in peoples' homes. Gradually research for the campaign, and gathering the everyday experience of asylum seekers and refugees who had experienced G4S, started to build a very different picture and image of G4S. G4S was the largest security company in the world, the largest employer on the London stock exchange with security personnel in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine.

South Yorkshire homes which asylum seekers were living in, were felt to be directly threatened by a company which had a brutal record of managing U.K. immigration detention centres; and it was G4S staff who restrained and 'unlawfully killed' an Angolan man Jimmy Mubenga who died whilst being deported in 2010. The campaign set out to connect Sheffield and other towns and cities, where the campaign flourished, to this wider world of the privatising international corporation. This developed very early through public demonstrations in Sheffield where local Palestine Solidarity Campaign activists simply joined the asylum housing protests with their own placards about G4S involvement in Israeli prisons for Palestinians.

A Zimbabwean refugee who trained activists to set up a website for the campaign, managed to get pictures and a report of the first demonstration in February 2012 into the Harare Times in Zimbabwe the day after the demo. At one of the first meetings a Zimbabwean asylum seeker, himself fighting against his own deportation, said loudly 'I don't want a prison guard as my landlord'. This set the tone for the campaign with asylum seekers and refugees who had experience of G4S; collecting evidence, speaking, organising and marching on the demonstrations.

The campaign was designed around a Notog4s Yorkshire research and monitoring group, which included academics and researchers from Leeds, Sheffield, Huddersfield and York universities, asylum rights campaigners and asylum seekers and refugees. The campaign decided to concentrate solely on Yorkshire although G4S had asylum housing contracts in the Midlands (including cities like Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham and Cambridge). This meant that background research was feasible and crucially activists and asylum seekers could use their local and regional knowledge of asylum housing, council and private landlords and of course the asylum system. Two local notog4s groups were established first in Sheffield by SYMAAG with support from other asylum rights organisations there. The other was in Huddersfield where there were activists involved in the main regional dispersal centre for new asylum seekers.

The campaign was a major exercise in knowledge production. Regular meetings researched local housing companies and received reports on the dozens of cases where slum housing was allocated by G4S landlords. Activists in the Yorkshire groups worked in solidarity with asylum seeker tenants from Zimbabwe, Iran, Kenya, Ethiopia, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Cote d'Ivoire, Uganda, DRC, Pakistan and Sri Lanka fighting cases and learning about the UK asylum "support" systems, and conditions and struggles in countries across the globe. Campaign leaflets were produced, demonstrations and actions organised and dozens of articles were written as a result of briefing journalists or through a dedicated G4S portal at *www.OpenDemocracy.net* and on the IRR news service *www.irr.org.uk.* A SYMAAG website was established and social media links established at *www.symaag.org.uk.* A pattern of networking organisation recently analysed in commentaries on social movements (Castells, 2012; Mason, 2013). This work has culminated in a comprehensive report (Grayson, 2013a), which was part of Parliamentary enquiries into the G4S asylum contracts and their asylum markets in June 2013 and February 2014.

Refugees and asylum seekers as politicians and autodidacts

An under-researched field in migration is that of ‘political émigrés’ and their organisations and social movements. Often these self-organised networks are branches of political parties in exile. In Sheffield and South Yorkshire this is certainly the case with refugees from DRC, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, and Kurdish exiles from Iraq, and now Syria. They have their own political education programmes, workshops and cultural activities. These networks have often been mobilised to support anti- deportation campaigns in South Yorkshire and educational programmes. During the G4S campaign networks around the Congolese émigrés passed on information and gave support to dispersed asylum seekers from DRC. A Kurdish political network alerted the campaign to the plight of a journalist asylum seeker attacked by a mob of racists when he was dispersed to Stockton asylum housing (Grayson, 2012).

Asylum seekers in the U.K. are prevented from working, and are often imprisoned if they do so ‘illegally’. Many have therefore turned to volunteer working with asylum support charities or official refugee organisations. Interviews with asylum seeker tenants in the G4S campaign also established the extent of their self-education and their seeking out of training and courses. One prominent asylum seeker tenant activist certainly understood the asylum housing issues because she had a U.K. degree, and experience of working as a housing officer. Another, who was granted refugee status during the campaign, was completing a part time degree. Asylum seekers with horrendous experiences of trafficking and detention were enduring the humiliations of asylum housing, and at the same time volunteering for training courses with the Red Cross and undertaking college child care courses.

More generally interviews with asylum seekers and refugees in South Yorkshire who are active members of social movements evidence a significant number of both men and women also undertaking IT, social science, housing, and social work courses.

Contesting racist discourses framing asylum seekers

The G4S campaign emphasised the importance of building into processes of social movement learning, not only skills and popular adult education methods, but also transformative practices which contested not only policies and procedures of the asylum system, but also confronted the languages and political discourses, which framed the injustices of the system. Imogen Tyler (2012), describes this form of struggle and resistance against the abjection of asylum seekers as redefining and ‘re-mapping’ the public identities of asylum seekers. The definitions and language deliberately created by politicians (Grayson, 2013b; Philo et al, 2013), for electoral purposes not only frame popular learning about asylum in the media and create ‘common sense racism’, but also pattern and infuse the delivery of policies in detention centres and asylum housing.

An example of this confrontation with racist discourse in the asylum housing campaigns was the fact that G4S and their directors constantly described their development of asylum housing as part of their ‘asylum market’. In contrast, Barnsley local authority, who had lost the contract for providing the publicly funded housing, described it as ‘humanitarian housing for those fleeing persecution’. This crucial distinction and statements from asylum housing tenants like ‘I do not want a prison guard as my landlord’ or ‘they treat us like luggage’ or ‘they simply want to make profits out of us, they show us no respect’ were recorded and appeared in news reports meetings and workshops as part of the campaigning and contested dominant media images of asylum seekers as ‘illegals’.

This constant critique of dominant power discourses prevalent in the media as part of the campaigning and learning mirrored techniques of CDA [Critical Discourse Analysis]. In recent years, in the U.K., racist discourses around 'asylum seekers' have demonised those who have sought asylum in the U.K. The discursive framework (Fairclough, 1998; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), developed around issues of 'immigration', 'citizenship', and 'asylum' by politicians and media has influenced the growth of far right and xenophobic politics. This racist discursive framework has also had major implications for anti racist actions and popular adult education practice, stigmatising asylum seekers as powerless apolitical victims who 'need' only language training or citizenship education.

Activist research and journalism to deconstruct the meanings of xenophobic and racist narratives used by politicians and political parties can be an important stimulus to creation of materials and curricula for adult education initiatives; as well as for agendas, leaflets, and debates, setting the context for effective 'learning' in social movements. Putting it quite simply 'a careful dissection of political language can be useful in exposing how the people at the top try to keep the rest of the world confused and powerless.' (Salkie, 2000,). Fairclough defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a tool to throw light on changing political orders of discourse by deconstructing political 'common sense' and also analysing the political uses of constructed narratives for electoral politics on 'a terrain of hegemonic struggle' (Fairclough, 1998, p. 145).

Conclusion

This ongoing activist research project into popular adult education in migrant social movements in one specific region of the U.K. is already perhaps suggestive of future trends and developments in wider adult education 'provision'.

The state's resourcing of solidarity campaigning (Featherstone, 2012), with social movements through formal and informal popular adult education programmes, has now almost disappeared (except perhaps in the Nordic countries and Scandinavia). There is now generally a rapid move towards marketised initiatives, dominated by vocational adult education for the labour market. In terms of adult education, with and for migrant social movements and refugees, the emphasis is almost entirely on programmes for assimilation. The political rejections of strategies of 'multiculturalism' and the 'end of tolerance' (Kundnani, 2007) in the U.K. have had dramatic effects on local and national state provision of adult education for migrants and refugees. English language training has become almost the only distinctive provision for migrants in many parts of the U.K.

Emphasis has now almost completely shifted to informal and non formal programmes of popular adult education embedded in the organisation and practice of migrant social movements, and asylum rights and anti racist social movements. To a large extent this is perhaps revisiting historically rooted traditions of organising and education sketched in this narrative, but it is also confronting perhaps newer challenges of a globalised labour market and definitions of citizenship, stigma and identity. Popular adult education perhaps has a central role in the future in re-mapping our collective understandings of migrants campaigning, organising and changing of all our worl

Notes

[1] This argument relies on a range of recent studies for the U.K. (Dorling, 2010).

[2] Stuart Hall was, until his recent (2014) death, Professor Emeritus of sociology at the Open University founded in 1969, perhaps the best known adult education product of the Labour government of 1964 to 1970.

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Out of Europe: agency and biographicity and discourses of ethnic-cultural belonging, inclusion and exclusion.[1]

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Abstract

The demands laid on the individual by increasingly fragmented life-wide learning imperatives lead to constant pressure on adults of 'migratory background' to display agency and take up a position vis-à-vis cultural-ethnic 'belonging', while around them an integration/assimilation debate continues to rage in German public discourse. The focus of this paper will therefore be the experiences of transition and transformation in learning biographies which are often experienced as self-'translation'. The paper will address agency, inclusion/exclusion in the learning biographies of young adults who straddle the precarious identity of German-Turk/Turk-German. I use here talk elicited in the learning biography of a student of Turkish origin. The assertion of agency-in-diversity is given voice in uneven ways. The extracts allow us to listen closely to the workings of agency in the subjective, shared experience related in auto/biographical narratives.

Keywords: self-translation; biographicity; the discursive-narrative interview; agency-in-diversity

Setting the scene: successful integration and opting-out

A phenomenon which can be traced through debates in Germany since at least the end of the 1970s, continues to be of central importance: the criteria for 'successful integration' of people with 'migrant backgrounds' in a country which boasts 15 million such individuals in a total population of 80 million, or 18.9% (Kiss & Lederer, 2013, p. 10). The commercially successful racism of minor public figures[2] regularly dominates the German bestseller lists (see Pirincci, 2014; Sarrazin, 2010), and on the more immediately active side, the militancy of racist and neo-nazi groups range from popular protests against the building of mosques to the organised violence of underground nazi cells.[3] In the lead up to, and in the wake of, the 2014 European Elections[4], the new 'invasion' feared is no longer the short-lived vision of the mass-migration spurred by the Arabellion in 2011 - which showed the highest number of immigrants since 1995 (BAMF, 2014, p. 14) - but the real drama of the boats before Lampedusa, and the spectre of waves of 'economic refugees' (Bade, 2013). Bade comments:

> The arrival of a youthful migrant elite of good-to-highly-qualified immigrants from the crisis states of Southern Europe [...] was until recently welcomed as an enhancement of the labour force shrinking as a result of Germany's demographic crisis. Now, however, the old fear of European East-West migration and extra-European South-North migration has come back to haunt us (Bade, 2013)[5].

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At the same time, Germany's newspapers (Lemmer, 2012; Thumann, 2010) have devoted space to the 'returners' – the Turks 'returning' to the homeland they were not born in, Turkey, after struggling for years with the experience of being foreign 'InländerInnen' – something like 'national foreigners', if we seek to translate this peculiarly German idea. Thoroughly 'German' Turks leaving Germany, partly as frustration at ongoing discrimination, partly as a response to the current crisis, the papers underline, already outnumber those arriving (see the graphics for emigration by Bundesland in Kiss & Lederer, 2013, p. 26). The arcane obsession with the 'judeo-christian' roots of European culture –the 'Leitkultur'[6] - best expressed perhaps in citizenship tests, or protests over mosques and headscarves – distracts attention from the discrimination and exclusion of adults often in possession of 'key qualifications' so dear to the 'enterprise culture'. While one report makes a strong argument that these 'returners' turning their backs on Germany represent a social, political and economic population simply ignored and 'under-used' (Woellert, Kröhnert, Sippel, & Klingholz, 2009), criticism has been levelled at the report for foregrounding the idea of 'German-Turks' as 'integration refusers' (Integrationsverweigerer), for ethnicizing the discussion and drawing a distorted picture of the supposed options followed by younger migrants, particularly Turks (Werth, 2009). The ambivalence of the position of second and third-generation migrants is suggested by the results of a study carried out some years ago by the University of Würzburg ('Frient II 2006-2008') according to which young adults of Turkish background are in fact the protagonists of a new 'culturally-aware integration' (kulturbewußte Integration) despite the structural obstacles placed in their way by the three-tiered German school system, for example (Goddar, 2009).

These obstacles are indeed considerable, however. Thus, the 2010 Migration Report of the German government pointed out that the education system loses adolescents and young adults with migrant backgrounds at each level of the system. While every 11th pupil (8.9%) in primary school has a non-German passport, only every 24th (4.2%) apprentice does, and only every 40th university student (2.5%) has a different passport (Autorengruppe, 2012; BBMFI, 2010, p. 138). These figures may be rendered less easy to decipher in the future when the proposed 'loosening' of dual-nationality regulations in Germany make 'nationality' a more fluid phenomenon.[7]

Social status and social capital differences are reflected in recently published empirical data. University students with a migrant background – in particular 'BildungsinländerInnen' (i.e. members of the 'historical' migrant populations in the education system: Turks above all, Italians, Greeks, Spanish, ex-Yugoslavs) and those of them who have opted for German naturalisation – belong more frequently to socially disadvantaged strata of society than other students, including 'new' migrants (e.g. on international study courses) (BBMFI, 2010, p. 141).

These and many further factors determine – more than any tendency to create 'parallel-societies' – the ambivalence felt by many migrants, and in particular by many German/Turks, towards Germany, their future perspectives in this country and their own identity. The 2009 study carried out by the Foundation for Turkey Studies in Essen (Sauer, 2009) points out that individuals can very really identify with the cultures of both Germany and Turkey and they can move at will between the two cultural systems, as a result of an empirically observed bi-cultural transformation of identity (Sauer, 2009, p. 97). Simultaneously, however, the report argues that tendencies towards a 'return' to the native country never known, are the fruit of holiday impressions, second-hand information and outsider-views, as a result of which a "phantasmagorical' and idealized picture of Turkey is created (Sauer, 2009, p. 97).

Irrespectively of these empirical studies of discrimination, of new emigration, of growing inter-ethnic communication, the pressure on migrant populations to assimilate is massive. Scenarios of mass exodus from Tunisia and Libya in the early months of 2011 and the visions of hundreds of thousands of additional job-seekers 'overrunning' Europe led swiftly to stiff

renunciations of solidarity. Ethnic belonging, and forced or self-chosen forms of marginalisation are hardly mitigated either by the provocative call from the Turkish premier Erdoğan on a visit to Germany in February 2011 to his "countrymen and –women" to ensure that children born into Turkish families be taught Turkish first before they are taught German.[8] More recently, in May 2014, Premier Erdogan spoke before a wildly enthusiastic rally again in Cologne. Welcomed, as one German newspaper put it "Wie ein Popstar" / Like a popstar (Tinc, 2014, p. 4), he offered more cautious, more 'statesmanlike' advice to his Turkish followers in Germany: "Don't remain foreigners in this country, you are citizens of Germany ... learn the language and teach it to your children. But don't let yourselves be assimilated ..." (Tinc, 2014).[9] Despite this pragmatic "Ja" to integration, the frame within which Erdoğan's pro-Turkish call was expressed renders it an intended provocation and a heavy extra burden on trans- or bi-cultural German/Turks already forced to make choices and make their choices in full view of a hostile public.[10]

Turning to the room for manoeuvre that adults have, given the demands laid on the individual by late modernity's increasingly fragmented life-wide learning imperatives (Ecarius, 1997), this paper will consider, then, what it can mean to be required to display agency against the background of the integration/assimilation debate in public discourse. To do this, experiences of transition and transformation which are often experienced as self-'translation' (Wierzbicka, 2003) are the focus of this paper. The paper will address agency, inclusion/exclusion in the learning biographies of young adults who straddle the precarious identity of German-Turk/Turk-German (for other examples of biographical research touching on the migrant experience see Koller, 2002; Riemann, 2003; Schütze, 2003).

'Self-translation' and 'biographicity'

In the kind of interview extracts which are discussed below, one main interest is focused, with Alice Ludwig, on the speakers' "presentations of self through language … and the ways that categories of difference and identity are used in these". This focus is primarily interested, then, Ludvig continues, "in the current self-positioning [of respondents] in a specific setting in time and place" (Ludvig, 2006, p. 251). The notion of a plurality of presentations of diversity that are developed in concrete contexts is important. Wierzbicka underlines, too, the concrete, physical aspect of movement between spaces of communication when she reminds us that "the voices of flesh and blood people crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries need also to be taken into account", particularly in connection with the social and individual experiences of diversity. Citing Besemeres, she refers to the immigrant experience of "having to 'translate oneself' from one's mother tongue into a foreign language and losing part of oneself in the process" (Besemeres 2002 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003, p. xvi). The immigrant, then, risks loss of herself in the process of translating herself from her 'othered' space to that of the dominant order of discourse. To which must be added, of course, that not only whoever crosses physical frontiers demarcating normality and diversity, determining nationality, religion, gendered self, drawing lines between 'us' and 'them', experiences and is forced to acknowledge the effects of othering discourses. The lines of demarcation intersect and cross through each individual self, intersecting now in one way, now in another. The intersecting lines of diversity and identity depend on the changing relationships of diversity, of 'otherness' across time, place and in relation to the subject's discoursal and embodied interaction with others.

A prerequisite for successful self-translation is having access to learning spaces within which biographical resources can be acquired and deployed, and which, in turn, determine how experience and common sense are interpreted. 'Biographicity', as Alheit (for example Alheit, 2006) has termed the deployment of such biographical resources, here stands for the drive or need (as well as the possibility) to draw on such resources of experience by exercising agency in the shaping of our lives. Gaston Pineau similarly underlines the essence

of “pouvoir-savoir vivre” (knowing/being able to live) and the difficulties involved for everyone in carrying forward the project of their lives. He states: “Chaque vivant est un cogito, mais aussi un artisan de lui-même, s’autoformant tant bien que mal” (Pineau, 1996, p. 78)[11]. The biographical method and the biographical interview offer a reliable view of the troubled spaces of transition in which the adults studied here are moving.[12] In an atmosphere of political cant and shrill populism this research field can provide a form of reflexive participation that educational institutions, too, would do well to emulate. A ‘biographisation’ of the work of the institutions (Alheit, 2006, p. 8) closely connected with the increasingly complex educational transitions of the young adults studied here would be a useful step towards liberating the learning options of many InländerInnen[13], who are driven to seek new biographical shores in a kind of late modern limbo and who ‘juggle’ multiple versions of their personal life paths according to the requirements of diverse contexts of social life/interaction.

Agency and biographical reflexivity

A biographic approach, then, which examines agentic identity as a resource drawn upon to make sense of learning experiences and, more simply, as Pineau suggests, in order to survive in the world, (Pineau, 1996, p. 78) draws our attention as researchers and educational practitioners to what is taking place at the frontiers between lived life and reflected life (“frontières biocognitives” Pineau 1996: 78). ‘Doing being’ a ‘foreigner’, a woman, a man takes places at the level of the ‘everyday’, while biographical otherness, gender or class, for instance, must be conceived in a ‘lifetime’ sense. Biographical construction – for Pineau not the end or a blueprint but the point of departure of the recognition of the existential culture which biographical construction is (Pineau, 1996, p. 78) – is, then, a dialectical process involving the possession/embracing of society by the subject and the simultaneous “social constitution of the subject” (Dausien, 1999, pp. 237-238 citing Fischer-Rosenthal). The tension between (re-)production and transformation (e.g. gender or ethnic identity) clearly conditions the framework within which agency and action can be unfolded. Moving from the ‘everyday’ horizon of social conditioning and individual acts of responsibility for self, to the horizon of the life history, however, lays the foundations for biographical agency. In what is doubtless the most thorough treatment to date of biographical construction of gender (Dausien, 1996) Bettina Dausien argues that the construction of a biography should be understood as a “social demand on the individual … to organise themselves, to accept responsibility for their acts” (Dausien, 1996, p. 573; see also Linde, 1993 for a similar formulation of ‘coherence’).[14] Understood in this way, the biographical construction is both an act and a reflective process. As life developments (‘Entwicklungsgeschichten’) continue in each new turn of the lived life, Dausien suggests, “new experiences are made which the subject is required to integrate in already existing self- and world-constructions, and as a result these are confirmed and stabilised (reproduction) or alternatively they must be ‘re-written’ (transformation)” (Dausien, 1996, p. 574).[15]

Agency and social interaction, agency and inscription

The biography is, then, constructed over life-time horizons and draws upon resources of experience, laid down in ‘layers’ or ‘strata’ which represent ‘reserves of sense or meaning’ (Dausien, 1996, pp. 576-577). These reserves as a rule are present in over-abundance (‘Sinnüberschüsse’) and represent in their turn ‘unlived life’ or possibly ‘not-yet-lived-life’. Agentic choices are made in interaction between self and world, between the individual and collectives or others to deploy reserves of experience (or “biographical background

knowledge" as Alheit calls it, see Dausien 1996: 577) to establish spaces of autonomy and take some hold on the life being lived (Baudouin, 2010, pp. 462-463; Baudouin & Parson, 2010; see also Merrill & West, 2009, p. 59). The researcher, however, rarely observes significant moments of biographical agency. The research context provides in fact the 'stage' upon which biographical agency is related, re-written, contextualised and constructed. The act of constructing a biography is rehearsed in words which are embodied in interaction. The co-construction of an agentic biography – for example in the biographical narrative interview – adds description, interpretation and discursive meanings. This process must be seen as thoroughly social and interactive, as not only the production of background knowledge is based in the social, but the re-construction/re-com-position[16] in languaged form is shared and social. Dausien puts it thus:

> Biographical background knowledge comprises certainties from the life-world which we draw upon implicitly when we act, take decisions, make plans or just tell our life story. It comprises orientations and prescriptions which we have adopted from others, but above all it is made up of layered experience which we have collected and connected up, but which is not at all clear to us. These experiences can be partly reconstructed as memories of concretely lived events, as, for example, when we narrate our biography in a particular situation (Dausien, 1996, p. 577)[17]

Given the inseparable connection between the teller and the told in the social construction of the biography – backward-looking to the socially constructed 'sound and the fury' of individual 'background knowledge' and forward-looking in the negotiation of shared meanings, decisions and intentions in interaction (Dausien, 1996, p. 577) it will perhaps be useful to address, however briefly, the role of interdiscursivity in interview talk before coming to examples of the talk itself.

The importance of inter-discursivity and levels of meaning

A significant element of the development within the talk of respondents' discourses of learning is that they are embedded in inter-discursive sequences. These discrete narrative units – themselves embedded within longer sequences of narration or suspended within brief turn-exchanges – act as interactive 'wooden horses' which transport "latent levels of personal meaning" (Chamberlayne, Bornat, & Wengraf, 2000, p. 9). Another, related, feature of meaning-making in the interview is that much 'own' discourse practice in interaction which reveals itself invariably as more or less serious rejection / opposition to discourse of the researcher, is generated in the 'open theorizing' associated with the deployment of the speech or thoughts of significant others. This turn to interdiscursivity is perhaps the single most significant characteristic of talk in the research interview. The turn to the embedded speech of self or others creates the possibility of own discourse production and, in addition, cements that discourse to a robust learning biography (Evans, 2004). These heteroglossic elements of the biographized narrative, together with a whole range of linguistic options deployed by respondents (Capps & Ochs, 1995) enhance the tell-ability of the narratives exchanged in the interaction and 'ground' the talk in 'own' contexts of doing being a self which are independent of, and therefore relatively resistant to, context and the force of the interview encounter.

Grammars of agency and helplessness

The management of one's own development, a creeping imperative of the post/modern life-course, means self-imposed pressures to adapt to new knowledge demands, to fulfil own projects and desires for change. To examine the perceived urgency of such learning

experiences, I use here talk elicited in the learning biography of a student of Turkish origin (for fuller treatment of Laleh's learning biography see Evans, 2004). Over a period of more than a decade, I have collected interviews with students from Turkish immigrant families as well as students from Eastern Europe. The interviews are open-ended and centre on an opening question about the students' learning experiences seen in a biographical, life-course sense. The language of interview is English or German, and the interviews are recorded with a digital recording device. The aim is to transcribe each interview so that as nearly as possible the rhythm, pace, volume and "feel" of the language is captured in the (obviously only partly adequate) words written down. As much of the prosody and the 'action' in the interview interaction, is recorded, too (see Evans, 2004, 2008, 2013).

The assertion of agency-in-diversity is given voice in uneven ways. The extracts allow us to listen closely to the workings of agency in the subjective, shared experience related in auto/biographical narratives. The detail and the richness of the language of change becomes apparent through close analysis of change in the micro levels of talk. Language resources, their use in the co-construction of meaning and of the learning space itself, help to follow how learning and diversity of experience can be told. As Young insists, it is crucial to "return to the social disposition of stories, to their linguistic coding, their contexts of use, to see how they illuminate the way individuals construe their lives" (Young, 1999, p. 431). The 'grammars' of agency or helplessness that they employ in order to construct their narratives, represent the starting point for research 'grounded' in the language of biographicity (Capps & Ochs, 1995). It is in this polysemic context that the act of 'translating oneself', re-presenting oneself across gender/cultural/ethnic boundaries brings discursive agency into play within the biographization process.

Interview talk, translation and presentation of data

Some brief words first to the methods adopted here. Presentation of the data and the findings presents some interesting hurdles to surmount. Making use of German-language interview talk and its translation into English involves dealing with the significance of radically different syntactical structures and embedded morphological problems, not to mention the problematic nature of exemplifying features of meaning and discourse by recourse to necessarily de-contextualised translations. Given the technical difficulties therefore of presenting German and English in a word-for-word type translation, as a rule translation is employed exclusively in order to provide access to the discussion of German language discourse phenomena. Any attempts to render in English the prosodic elements of discourse must be seen as wholly impressionistic. Analysis is always based on the original language of the talk.

Laleh: Moving through learning spaces[18]

Laleh (born Ankara, Turkey in 1968) was in some ways emblematic of the first generation of German-raised (if not born) Turks who have been finding their place in German universities from the beginning of the 'nineties. The role of language, Turkish and German, and the role of family and teachers, were crucial for Laleh's educational agency. Even a cursory look through the transcript of Laleh's interview reveals her concentration on the role of her teachers. A further striking feature of Laleh's talk is the role she allocates to her family, and within this, to her mother in particular. These references are significant for the way in which Laleh constructs her learning biography. In fact, in Laleh's narratives we are continually referred back to authoritative figures in her life course. Gender/ethnicity account for Laleh's deployment of the family, of her mother, but also of crucial interventions in her learning

experience by teachers throughout her school career. She provides rich detail regarding the socio-economic milieu(s) in which she grew up, both in Ankara, in the Turkish village of her first school experiences as well as regarding the various stages of her schooling in Germany, during which parental aspirations and possibilities and the initiative of individual teachers made a significant difference to her learning process. Her family – and their educational options – prove to be central to her learning biography. Laleh's discourses of learning are shaped by intercultural/interlingual experience, by an existence between cultures and languages, and as part of an initially patriarchal family structure broken down to a large extent by the very workings of Laleh's education and educational chances. Her school life is chequered and partly emblematic for a Turk of her generation: born in Ankara and educated in Germany. She was obviously interested in rendering her story comprehensible. I learnt a lot from her.

Laleh: 'Just send her along'

Extract 1

1	Lal:	und uhm so ich habe dann in der	and uhm so I did a year of
2		Tuerkei damals ein Jahr noch im	school still in Turkey still
3		Dorf als wir noch fuer ein Jahr	in the village we were in the
4		im Dorf waren (1.0) habe ich	village for a year (1.0) a
5		noch ein Jahr Schule gemacht	bit of (1.0) reading and
6		(1.0) so ein bisschen Lesen und	writing I learnt I wasn't
7		Schreiben schon gelernt aber ich	officially in the school the
8		war nicht offiziell in der	teacher just said <ESp> oh
9		Schule der Lehrer hat einfach	just send her along
10	➔ESp	gesagt <ESp> ach schicken Sie	
11		sie mal	

Here, at the outset of her narratives, the authoritative voice of the village teacher is invoked in the form of 'embedded speech' (➔ESp). Her father learnt to read and write in the army, her mother at the age of 36 in Germany. In Germany, till she was finished at the primary school, Laleh was in an all-Turkish class. She felt her own success in German in relation to her friends:

Laleh: environmental influences – learning german

Extract 2

1		Lal:	und da kamen wir dann Anfang 75	and we came then at the
2			habe ich dann wurde ich dann	beginning of 75 then I then
3			hier eingeschult uhm das	I was sent to school here
4			Besondere ist bis zur 4 Klasse	uhm the point is till the 4th
5			war ich in einer tuerkischen	class I was in a turkish
6			Klasse waren alle Tuerken	class everyone was turkish
7		RE:	Mhmm	mhmm
8		Lal:	uhm und die bis zur 3 Klasse	uhm they till the 3rd class
9			hatte ich eine tuerkische	I had a turkish teacher so
10			Lehrerin also wir hatten ja	in between we had one or two
11			zwischendurch ein zwei Faecher:	subjects: in german we had
12			Deutsch Deutsch hatte wir und	german and there was
13			da war noch Erdkunde oder	geography too or something
14			irgendwas hatten wir auch	we had mathematics too or
15			Mathematik oder so andere	something other things were
16			Sachen wurden uns auf tuerkisch	taught to us in turkish
17			beigebracht weil dieser Vorort	because this part of
18			von Dinslaken der hatte 80%	Dinslaken it had 80% turks
19			Tuerken wir sind praktisch so	we were basically brought up
20			dort aufgezogen uhm	there uhm grew up there so
21			aufgewachsen so und irgendwann	sometime or other uhm just a
22			uhm ein moment was war das?	moment what was that?
23	SLE	➔1	Anfang der 80igen sind wir	beginning of the 80s we
24			umgezogen von da es war eine	moved away from there it was

25			deutsche Gegend und das hat	a german area and that made
26			meine Entwicklung mitgemacht	my development and then I
27			und dann hatte ich nun deutsche	had german friends then (.)
28			Freunde (.) vorher hatte ich	before I had also had one
29			zwar auch eine die hat mir auch	she had for me that was also
30			deswegen hatte ich auch so	a reason why I had a (.)
31			einen (.) Vorsprung was die	start as far as the german
32			deutsche Sprache anging weil	language was concerned
33			(.) ich konnte mich mit ihr	because (.) I was able to
34			unterhalten mit den anderen	talk to her with the others
35			habe ich mich natuerlich in	I spoke turkish of course
36			Tuerkisch unterhalten deswegen	that's why it wasn't so good
37			ging das mit der deutschen Sprache nicht so gut	with german
38		RE:	Mhmm	mhmm
39	➔2	Lal:	in der uhm die meisten meiner	in the uhm most of my girl
40			Freundinnen die konnten nicht	friends they couldn't really
41			mal richtig deutsch obwohl sie	speak german well although
42			vielleicht hier geboren waren	perhaps they were born here

Laleh's account here is largely chronological, marked by complicatory and evaluatory details (subjects, teacher, language, concentration of Turkish immigrant population) which enrich the account with Laleh's personal analysis of her background and progress as she sees it. An important serious life event (given as SLE in the extract) – moving to a 'German' neighbourhood – is produced at ➔1 (SLE) and the central role of language in her learning biography is thus accounted for (26-37). At ➔2, Laleh enacts a self-repair and shifts from generalization about the effects on her German language skills to anecdotal evidence (her girl-friends) which can be taken as contextualization of her previous remarks and as such as a strong knowledge claim: she, who was born and schooled in Turkey, overtook her Turkish girl-friends who were born in Germany (39-42). The centrality in her narrative of the physical spaces in which her learning took place and by which it was so obviously conditioned, hindered, helped, is striking. Laleh foregrounds the momentous crossing from what was as good as a Turkish ghetto – and she the child of a Kurdish-speaking family which learnt to use Turkish within the first mainstream language community they migrated into in Ankara – to a German locality and the learning consequences this unlocked. The risk factor involved is clearly acknowledged.

Laleh: 'He didn't get round to it'

She went to the vocational secondary school (Hauptschule) and not the (Upper) Secondary (Realschule). Once again we hear the voice of a significant other, and once again it is the teacher (➔ESp 1).

Extract 3

1		Lal:	weil mein Lehrer mein	because my teacher my father
2			Vater kam nicht mich auf	didn't get round to
3			die Realschule anzumelden	registering me for the
4			ging irgendwie nicht	Realschule it wasn't possible for some reason
5		RE:	wieso? keine Information?	How come? no information?
6		Lal:	uhm der kam irgendwie dazu	uhm he just didn't get round
7			nicht der Lehrer hat gesagt	to it the teacher said <ESp>go
8	ESp	➔1	<ESp>du kannst dich ruhig	on you can register for the
9			auf die Realschule anmelden	Upper Secondary it was like
10			das war so damals die	that then that the primary
11			Grundschullehrer haben	school teachers pushed the
12	SLE	➔2	irgendwie die Eltern dazu	parents sort of
13			bewegt	

Teachers thus exerted pressure to move her up to the comprehensive school and family differences and cultural influences come to the fore here: the father is consistently present as

an obstacle to assimilation and learning, albeit rather more passive than active, while the mother emerges increasingly in Laleh's learning biography as a force for progress and improvement. The influence of the teachers in moving the parents to put Laleh in another school is recorded at ➔2. Laleh's description is intentionally biographized and evaluated as a further serious life event (SLE).

Laleh: "you're too good for this school"

Extract 4

1		Lal:	meine Mutter die hat erstmal	at first my mother went
2		➔1	auch da mitgemacht aber meine	along with this but my
3			Mutter war immer dafuer dass wir	mother was always for
4			Maedchen was also uns	letting us girls improve
5			bildungsmaessig uhm hocharbeiten	ourselves education-wise
6			das hat man gemerkt als wir uhm	that got clear when a year
7			ich war ein Jahr auf der	later in the Hauptschule
8			Hauptschule die Lehrerin hat	the teacher my teacher said
9			dann auch gesagt meine Lehrerin	<ESp>you're too good for
10	Esp	➔2	sagte <**ESpB**>du bist zu schade	this school change over to
11			fuer diese Schule wechsel sie	the comprehensive <EspE>
12			auf die Realschule um<**EspE**> und	and I changed over then I
13			ich bin dann rueber ich habe	had to persuade my parents
14			meine Eltern ueberreden muessen	my father was against it at
15			mein Vater war erstmal nicht	first but the teacher she
16			dafuer da hat die Lehrerin noch	spoke to him personally and
17			mit ihm persoenlich gesprochen	he said <ESp>OK let her go
18	Esp	➔3	da hat er gesagt <**ESp**>ok soll	and I was in the Realschule
19			sie und dann war ich auf der	but I had to repeat that
20			Realschule da musste ich aber	year that was ok by me it
21			die eine Klasse wiederholen aber	did me a lot of good that
22			war mir recht es hat mir sehr	was the first time I was in
23			gut getan da kam ich zum ersten	a German class (1.0)so and
24			mal in eine deutsche Klasse	there so then it was it was
25			(1.0) so und da so es ging dann	it was I thank that teacher
26			auch es war es war ich danke	that she sent me then to
27	SLE	➔4	dieser Lehrerin dass sie damals	the Realschule (.) because
28			mich auf die Realschule	I don't know how different
29			geschickt hat weil ich weiss	my life would have been if
30			nicht wie mein Leben sich	I had remained at the
31			geaendert haette wenn ich auf	secondary modern where 80
32			der Hauptschule geblieben waere	to 90 per cent were
33			wo achtzig bis neunzig Prozent	foreigners
34			noch Auslaender waren	

Laleh manages the narrative skilfully so that the gender conflicts within the family and at school are marked linguistically by the greater space given to the references to the mother (➔1 in lines 1 and 3) and by the economy of words spent on the father. While the embedded speech of teachers (➔2) is given at length and with considerable rhetorical-prosodic precision (over lines 10-12) in which we can hear the teacher's voice talking to Laleh herself ('du bist zu schade…' / 'you're too good for…') and then presumably to her parents ('wechsel sie…' / 'change her…'), the father's (grudging?) acquiescence is taciturn, almost speechless (➔3). We hear in fact the words 'ok soll sie' / 'ok let her (go)'. Laleh frames here another serious life event (given as ➔4 SLE), thanking the initiative of the teacher who insisted on furthering her education. Laleh can be heard to be constructing a consistent biography of growth. Once again, Laleh emphasises what is an 'escape' from the immigrant environment her mother was intent on helping her out of. Laleh's option is to assimilate via the language of the German majority. Access to this new learning space, the Realschule (as a result of which it was ultimately possible for her to progress to the Abitur necessary later in order to attend university) is heard in her narrative to be a significant, yet by no means inevitable, victory against obstacles within the family. The family, at the centre of which we hear of Laleh's

unschooled mother furthering her daughters consistently against the reluctant inactivity of the father to take up learning opportunities, is, alongside the schools Laleh attended, a space in which diversity is played out, protected and laid aside. The biographical space represented by one of the largest concentrations of Turkish immigrants/Gastarbeiter in the Federal Republic of Germany (Dinslaken in the Ruhr area) is overlaid and intersected by the space of the German classroom (lines 23-24). Laleh's agency-in-diversity from this point onwards, at the latest, becomes inextricably tied up with her learning biography, as her increasingly assimilated identity becomes a source of diversity within the family itself, and in the Turkish community she left behind (lines 33-34).

Conclusion: self and language, self and agency

I have attempted to show that it is in the cracks and spaces, so to speak, where the inrush of interdiscursive elements is most sensed, that the otherness, and the space for agency, of Laleh is most keenly experienced. It is apparent, I hope, that the fractures at work in the lines of demarcation between culture of origin and immigration land, family and community, language and education, 'Turkish spaces' and 'German' spaces of learning and opportunity and the blurring of clean separations between these above all, are acutely hearable in Laleh's narratives (see here the discussion of 'Cleo' in Baudouin & Parson, 2010).

The 'othering effect' of German for Laleh can be a major source of 'hybridized' communication, which is double-edged (Duszak, 2002, pp. 219-220). It is legitimate to see "interactants as being involved in linguistic 'acts of identity' through which they claim or ascribe group membership" (Auer, 2005, p. 404) which in communities in transition – subject to processes of inclusion and exclusion - is important for the prestige, status and knowledge membership can bring. Equally, being unable to resource German to pursue social goals may result in marginalization. The agentic significance of the use of, and living and moving within, the language of the 'host' society is strikingly clear in Laleh's narrative.

There are demonstrably advantages within 'local' lifeworlds of close identification with 'hybridized' social discourses. Being able to move almost at will between social communities, or being able to act as interpreter and intermediary, can have learning and professional dividends. The associated lifestyles and choices to be made, are nevertheless ambiguous. Participation in diverse other-languaged discourse communities provides a space in which precious personal/professional freedoms can be lived out. But it is not enough to merely calculate the price or the possibilities of diversity as equal to being 'sandwiched' between 'German/European' and historically grown 'local' patriarchies, gender norms, family roles and individual identities. For the othering effects of globalizing processes, which are about "class, race/ethnic, and gender relations [and are] political and cultural, as well as economic" (Acker, 2004, p. 18) clearly open up not only significant learning opportunities and breaches in mainstream, frequently conservative discourses of social practice, but they also call forth resistance and rejection, resulting in social fragmentation and loss.

The Turkish student Laleh, then, is locked into learning processes which are deeply inscribed with gender/cultural/ethnic/political meanings. Empowerment and disempowerment are implicated in the workings of her learning experiences. The spaces in which she lives and learns and through which she moves while building relationships and careers are building-blocks of her diversity. Similarly, the language(s) that constitute(s) these spaces as knowable and accessible, and the times, individual rhythms and 'grammars' of experience that she develops in order to build her learning into her changing life are also building-blocks of the diversity that can be created and narrated in the biographic interview as an important expression of her agency.

Notes

[1] A first version of this paper was presented at the ESREA Life History and Biography Research Network Conference "Human Agency and Biographical Transformations. Adult Education and Life Paths", University of Geneva, March 3-6, 2011.
[2] I am referring here to "*Deutschland schafft sich ab: Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen*" [Germany abolishes itself: How we are putting our land at risk] (2010, Deutscher Verlagsanstalt, München) by the former Berlin Senator and publicist Thilo Sarrazin, and to "*Deutschland von Sinnen: Der irre Kult um Frauen, Homosexuelle und Zuwanderer*" [Germany out of its senses: the mad obsession with women, homosexuals and immigrants] by the erstwhile relatively respected author of minor detective novels, Akin Pirinçci (2014, Manuscriptum, Waltrop) who includes in his vilifications women and homosexuals as well as immigrants.
[3] The Forum NRW regularly organises vigils outside mosques and flashpoints of 'citizen' protest such as the notoriously degraded centres of residence of Bulgarian immigants in Dortmund and Duisburg (see reports in http://www.waz.de). The NSU (National-Sozialistische Untergrund/National-Socialist Underground) is the object of an ongoing trial into the presumed nine murders of individuals of Turkish origin committed by the militant nazi terror cell between 2000 and 2007.
[4] The openly 'anti-foreigner' vote in Germany was only just over 1%, though three major parties (FDP, CDU, CSU) as well as the recently formed anti-EU protest party AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) campaigned with varying degrees of hostility against new 'waves' of migrants, with over 40% of the AfD's voters citing the "waves" of immigrants as the most important issue deciding their choice of party (see http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/europawahl-analyse100.html [03.06.2014],
[5] [*Die Ankunft einer jungen Migrantenelite von gut- bis hochqualifizierten Zuwanderern aus den Krisenstaaten im Süden Europas [...] wurde vor kurzem noch gefeiert, als Bereicherung für das aus demographischen Gründen schrumpfenden Arbeitskräfteangebot in Deutschland. Jetzt aber geht wieder die Urangst vor der europäischen Ost-West-Migration und der außereuropäischen Süd-Nord-Wanderung um*].
[6] Leitkultur [leading or dominant culture] was raised as a public discussion topic most notably by the leading Christian Democrat politician Friedrich Merz in 2000. Further definitions from similarly right-wing conservative standpoints agree on a Christian-Jewish heritage of European culture and contrast this with the "threat" from "uncontrolled" immigration. The originally one-sided discussion has in recent years been sharpened and focused by famous position statements by successive Federal Presidents in Germany – thus, President Christian Wulff's (2010-2012) declaration that "Islam belongs to German culture" made in Bremen in 2010 – in a similar fashion to the controversy unleashed in April 2014 in the United Kingdom by the incumbent at 10 Downing Street about "our status as a Christian country" (Cameron, 2014).
[7] Proposed legislation at the time of writing plans to ease the decision to hold 2 passports, rendering the pressure on individuals, particularly Turks, to 'declare' themselves by a certain age for the one or the other 'homeland', unnecessary (Zeit-Online.de, 2014).
[8] "*Our children will of course learn Turkish. That is their native tongue and it is your most natural right to pass on your mother tongue to your children*" [Selbstverständlich werden unsere Kinder Türkisch lernen. Das ist Ihre Muttersprache und es ist Ihr natürlichstes Recht, Ihre Muttersprache Ihren Kindern] in: http://www.welt.de/debatte/article1660510/Das_sagte_Ministerpraesident_Erdogan_in_Koeln.html
[9] ["*Bleibt nicht wie Fremde in diesem Land, ihr seid Staatsbürger Deutschlands ... lernt die Sprache und bringt sie euren Kindern bei. Aber assimiliert euch nicht ...*"]
[10] The whole speech is documented in Welt-Online. See (Welt-Online, 2011)
[11] ["*Every being is a cogito, but also an artisan of themselves, forming (educating) themselves both well and badly*"]
[12] The paper discusses only one learning biography of a Turkish-German adult, that of Laleh. Others, collected over the last 10 years must, for lack of space, await another opportunity to be aired.
[13] I use the term 'InländerInnen' for the people of Turkish migration background spoken of here.
[14] *[… Konstruktion einer Biographie als gesellschaftliche Anforderung an das Individuum … sich zu organisieren, Verantwortung zu übernehmen für seine Handlungen …*]
[15] *[… in neuen Situationen werden neue Erfahrungen gemacht, die vom Subjekt in bestehende Selbst- und Weltkonstruktionen integriert werden müssen, womit diese bestätigt und stabilisiert (Reproduktion) oder aber 'umgeschrieben' (Transformation) werden müssen*]
[16] I wish to draw attention through this idiosyncratic orthographic form to Laura Formenti's provocative use of semantic de-constructions to draw out multiple meanings at work in key words (See Formenti, 2008).
[17] [*Das biographische Hintergrundwissen beinhaltet also die lebensweltlichen gewißheiten auf die wir uns implizit beziehen, wenn wir handeln, Entscheidungen treffen, Pläne machen oder eben unsere Lebensgeschichte erzählen. Es beinhaltet Orientierungen und Präskripte, die wir von anderen übernommen haben, vor allem aber aufgeschichtete Erfahrungen, die wir gemacht und miteinander verknüpft haben, die uns keineswegs alle präsent*

sind, aber zu Teilen als Erinnerungen an konkrete Erlebnisse rekonstruiert werden können, z.B. wenn wir in einer bestimmten Rahmensituation unsere Biographie erzählen].

[18] The following reduced markup is used in the interview transcript extracts produced here:

(.)	Pauses (audible breaks in flow of speech)
(1.0)	Pause timed in seconds (to nearest second)
.hh	In-breaths
hh	Out-breaths
°xxx°°	Quiet speech
+xxx++	Rapid speech
xxx:::	Drawn-out utterance, drawl
ESp	Embedded speech

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Social housing, multi-ethnic environments and the training of social educators: combined anthropological and educational perspectives

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Abstract

The paper presents part of a broader project that explores the role played by informal citizenship learning in social housing urban environments (SHe) and the related educational challenges for social educators, NGO practitioners and also researchers.
In this article, in particular, I focus on issues related with social educators' and NGO practitioners' professional training. The aim of the paper, in this perspective, is to offer some introductory theoretical and methodological remarks for the training of NGO practitioners working in SHe. The basis for this reflection is the idea of informal learning (Schugurensky, 2000), the concepts of learning for reflexive citizenship and learning for active citizenship (Johnston, 2005) and anthropology of citizenship (Ong, 1999, 2003). In the research process, we have intersected instruments and methodologies coming from the different fields of anthropology and educational sciences. Our hypothesis consists in considering the possibility that exploring the professional field of social educators in SHe with an ethnographic approach could contribute to improve reflexive attitudes of social educators and shape their educational attitudes.

Keywords: Social housing; multi-ethnic environments; training of social educators; interdisciplinary research tools

Introduction

> Cities are places where we can invent alternative visions and ways of life. (Vandenabeele, Reyskens & Wildemeersch, 2011, p. 201)

The paper presents part of a broader project which explores the role played by informal citizenship learning in social housing urban environments (SHe) and the related educational challenges for social educators, NGO practitioners and also researchers.

In this article, in particular, I focus on issues related with social educators' and NGO practitioners' professional training and the interplay between professional skills

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acquisition and certification and educational aspects entailed by social work in marginal and heterogeneous urban environments.
The aim of the paper, in this perspective, is to offer some introductory theoretical and methodological remarks for the training of NGO practitioners in social housing environments.

The basis for this reflection is the idea of informal learning as conceptualized by Schugurensky (2000, p. 4) and the concepts of *learning for reflexive citizenship* and *learning for active citizenship* as expressed by Johnston (2005, p. 48). These concepts entail dynamic connections between citizenship as status and citizenship as practice (Lister, 1997; Delanty, 2000) and the interplay between these connections and the related forms of learning in formal, non-formal and informal contexts.

To explore this interplay we have intersected instruments and methodologies coming from the different fields of anthropology and educational sciences in order to reinforce, on the one hand the critical approach on the key issues of citizenship and social inclusion, and on the other hand to look for different methodologies in the framework of citizenship learning.

In designing the activities we have realized, we focused on the following research questions:

- How do social educators and NGO-practitioners perceive the educational aspects of their professional role?
- Which kind of dynamics are stimulated by these educational interventions in multicultural neighbourhoods where ambivalent feelings on diversity and plurality are shared by local and foreign inhabitants?
- How can professional training of NGO practitioners stimulate reflection and in-depth understanding of living together in multicultural urban contexts?

We use the Johnston's framework (2005, p. 60) as key tool to plan activities and to analyse the results. We have tried to understand how this framework could contribute to design the training of social educators and to develop education paths.

As stated by Johnston, in exploring new forms of learning for citizenship ‘it may also be necessary to move beyond the boundaries of conventional adult education literature and engage with different but allied discourses’ (Johnston, 2005, p. 55).

Mainly we refer to two different kinds of such discourses.

On the one hand there is Ong's discourse on the relation between social educators’ identity and professional role and the kind of citizenship shaped in social services (Ong, 1999, 2003). We are interested in exploring how different integration practices contribute to create situated conditions of possibilities and constraints for both migrants and education professionals working in heterogeneous contexts (Ong, 2003). At the same time we take into consideration the anthropological reflection on the interplay between local and global in building citizens' identity in the context of globalized arenas (Appadurai, 1996). In this anthropological exploration we have considered as a central issue the imaginary related to the area and the issues investigated (Collier jr., 1967, 1995). For this reason we have used photo-elicitation interviews (PEI) in the research process. PEI is a qualitative methodology which introduces photographs into the interview context. ‘Elicitation interviews connect core definitions of the self to society, culture and history. This work corresponds to postmodern sociology decentered narrative; of the sociology of the body, and of social studies of emotion’ (Harper, 2002, pp. 13-14). The photographs used in PEI can originate from the interviewee or the researcher. Researchers can use photographs as a tool to expand on questions and simultaneously, participants can use photographs to provide a unique way to

communicate dimensions of their lives. In this case we have used photos of the area in order to discuss changes in spaces, related concerns of new and old inhabitants and perceptions in terms of feelings of belonging and identity.

We have intersected this anthropological point of view with the analyses on educational spaces and the relevance of spaces in learning processes (Roets, Vandenabeele & Bouverne-De Bie, 2012; Biesta & Cowell, 2012; Wildemeersch, 2012; De Visscher, Bouverne-De Bie & Verschelden, 2012).

From a methodological point of view we have explored the opportunities offered by the ethnographic approach to investigate this kind of learning for reflective and active citizenship. We refer to the ethnographic approach as an opportunity to highlight the continuous representational interplay of differences which characterizes the complexity of contemporary world. This complexity affects all of us, as humans, citizens, social workers and researchers (Clifford, 1988) and affects the roots of our opportunities to read, observe and study social realities and the cultural practices they are shaped by. The work of anthropologists like Geertz (1973) shows that every description is in itself a hermeneutic act and open the possibility to consider ethnography like a highly reflexive practice in which the *self* of researchers is involved. This implies to deepen and question the same idea of field work, considered as the basis of ethnography, and the way in which field work is constructed, represented and interpreted (Rabinow, 1977). In this sense ethnography, considered as the basis of anthropological method and research (Lévy-Strauss, 1958) becomes a specific situated way to understand and describe situated contexts and to show the interplay between reciprocal representations and the construction process of research subjects, objects and results.

Our hypothesis consists in considering the possibility that exploring the professional field of social educators in SHe with an ethnographic approach could contribute to improve reflexive attitudes of social educators and shape their educational attitudes.

In fact, in our work the goal of the anthropological method and research in investigating citizenship learning processes is not the accumulation of ethnographic data by an academic anthropologist/ethnographer in order to produce an interpretation of the observed cultural reality.

> Instead, the anthropological method is understood as an engaged empirical field-based practice strongly grounded in critical observation, reflection and production, which is shared by a group of expert and non-expert researchers who use the knowledge gained in the process to act upon socio-cultural reality. The anthropological method is, therefore, a learning process which brings the researcher and the researched together in an empirical encounter that has a transformative and possible emancipatory potential. (Cervinkova, 2011, p. 183)

In this paper I present the general project framework and the specific actions related with the training of social educators and NGO practitioners in connection with the specific city district where the project took place. Finally I try to propose some emerging issues and guidelines for social educators' and NGO practitioners' training.

The project

This contribution presents the reflections and results that emerged in a two years Grundtvig partnership project called ‘ACtS: Active Citizenship and Social Housing:

learning citizenship living together', realized by a partnership of three Universities and two civil society organizations based in Italy, the United Kingdom and Finland.

The aim of the project is to explore which kind of contribution informal learning in the context of social housing could give to reinforce 'social cohesion, active citizenship, intercultural dialogue, gender equality and personal fulfilment' (EACEA, 2010).

The project addressed theoretical and methodological issues in informal citizenship education with disadvantaged groups with the aim to develop guidelines for training of social educators acting as adult educators in these environments.

In this paper we present the qualitative methodologies we have used to explore social educators' representations as a starting point to plan the training.

> There has been a revival of interest in social housing as one way in which governments can meet the increasing overall requirement for housing that stems from demographic and income pressures. In many countries there is interest in increasing new supply - although so far not much in the way of action or money. [...] Ethnic minorities live disproportionately in social housing, often on large estates - mainly because of poverty, household composition and restricted access to other tenures. The residential pattern of minorities is becoming a political issue in some countries, with concentrations of particular groups being seen as problematic. There is increasing recognition of the tension between providing social housing for long-time local residents, and providing it for those in greatest housing need (often immigrants with few local ties). [...] Overall the tensions and pressures across Europe are surprisingly similar, whatever the original role of the social sector in each country. The emphasis is very much on partnership and mixed communities with particular concerns about segregation and the position of vulnerable households. While there is, if anything, a growing commitment to social housing in the political rhetoric, few countries have identified new funding streams to ensure that the investment necessary to meet the need for affordable housing will actually occur. (LSE, 2007, pp. 5-7)

While the largest part of social-housing programs are PPP (public/private partnership) led programs, the educational and support programs are often carried out by private players like NGOs, charities, voluntary based organizations which act as social-inclusion agents. Normally Local Authorities funding these services ask the providers to assure informal citizenship education notions to beneficiaries to reduce conflicts in mixed living environments and to assure a better integration process in the local community.

We have explored the identified issues:

- using comparative field research on informal learning practices
- considering NGO practitioners, social educators and beneficiaries point of view
- comparing methods and learning achievements
- exchanging practices
- selecting recommendations for professional training of NGO practitioners working in the specific sector of social housing
- selecting skills and methods adult-educators in informal environments should master to face the challenge of enhancing participation, democracy and active citizenship in disadvantaged group members living in social housing environments.

This paper explores the second and fifth point of this list, showing how different points of view coming from different disciplines, in particular anthropology and educational sciences could contribute to enhance reflection and action in social housing contexts, relating social educators' practices to a specific urban contexts.

Space(s)

> Places as well as people can be educative in the sense that they 'challenge' what is taken for granted in our everyday lives. (van der Veen & Wildemeersch, 2012, p. 11)

In Italy we worked throughout the project process with a local NGO called 'Vicini di casa', working in the field of social housing services.

We decided to choose as case study area a town district called Borgo Stazione in the southern part of the town centre, including the railway station.

The reason for this choice is related to the fact that the district has a high percentage of foreign inhabitants (22,28%) compared with the rest of the city (14,30%). This percentage has increased during the last ten years. In addition, some of the activities realized by Vicini di Casa are concentrated in the area. In particular the NGO manages a social housing building in the area; supports economically and from a social point of view different persons living in the area; and was in charge of an information office at the bus station.

At the same time the area has a very controversial reputation in the town.
When googling Borgo Stazione in April 2013, the first 10 results were related to security issues (4 of them), housing issues (4 of them) and social issues (2 of them related to the same event). If we move to Google images related to the area, we find as the first result a photo of the railway station; the second an image of a leaflet claiming for an Hungarian solution to the security problems in the area, depicted as "Udine Kasbah"; the third result an advertisement of administrative services for foreign people related to residence permit and other bureaucratic practices. From this point on there are a lot of images related to security issues: police inspections, policemen walking in the area, police cars inspecting the area, prostitutes walking in the street during the night...

During a mapping workshop, Vicini di Casa social educators mapped the area and the general view of the area as unsafe, dangerous and at risk of criminality was largely confirmed, even if the perceptions changed according to the age of people interviewed, and to the fact whether they were residents or travellers who were passing through.

Vicini di Casa social educators are involved in a wide range of interventions at different levels in the area, aiming at building citizenship processes and inclusion activities in this very badly reputed context.

We assume that the views they have on citizenship, social housing, their role, the spaces and the people they work with are very relevant to the educational results they could get.

Changing the professional imaginary

> [...] education is about developing imaginative, workable, ethical communities, which do not suppress differences or cause the proliferation of fragmented and weak communities, but strive to develop values of critical understanding and resilience. (Maginess, 2011, p. 212)

Our assumptions of implicit roles as adult educators of social educators in SHe relates not only to the centrality of relational aspects in the work they did, but also to the fact that through their technical intervention and their professional everyday practices they contribute to build a certain kind of citizenship that concerns both educators and educated citizens (Ong, 2003).

The project idea arose in little talks with Vicini di Casa social educators. They highlighted the fact that the new social housing projects promoted in Italy by the Integrated Real Estate Fund System (Sistema Integrato di Fondi immobiliari - SIF), dedicated to social housing projects, entail a completely renewed role of social educators in SHe. The new system was introduced by Article 11 of Decree Law 112/2008, transformed into Law 133/2009. The system aims to promote and test innovative financial instruments and methodologies that enable participation by a wide range of social and financial categories who are capable of contributing and integrating planning, design, and financial resources on behalf of social housing projects. Social Housing projects under this new legal framework imply the role of Social Manager.

> By social management we mean the whole set of the activities related to property management, and to the management of the interaction among the people who live in that property. The manager selects the tenants and involves the residents in actions designed to develop a sense of community and belonging. This professional figure is of fundamental importance to effectively guarantee the respect of the common good by the residents, and to avoid the risk of early physical and functional obsolescence of the buildings. In fact where integration and involvement of the inhabitants of a real-estate complex are indispensable for the success of the whole operation, the traditional activity of facility and property management incorporates the management of social aspects as well. (Del Gatto, Ferri & Pavesi 2012, pp. 112-114)

This means that Vicini di Casa social educators should update their working profiles and acquire new competences in order to play this new role.

The first social educators' request during the project activities relates to the need to reinforce the social educators' professional profile by mapping their competences and exploring their needs in order to cover new roles.

In our work with Vicini di Casa we used a four step analysing process in order to design the professional profile fostering organizational learning:

- self-analysis of the working profile (present and future)
- self-evaluation of skills and individuation of weaknesses
- narrative collection of case studies
- exploration of social representations of key issues.

We held two workshops with social educators and proposed them to analyse their current competences and roles in the framework of Vicini di Casa organization. The result was the map of current skills social educators consider to master. During the second workshop we asked them to imagine the expected changes they envisaged in their role, in order to match with the new framework of Social Housing social managers. The results have been compared with data and information emerging from interviews with Vicini di Casa management committee.

After this first mapping step we have explored work biographies of social educators in order to investigate the significance of critical change processes for their individual and collective learning (Evans, 2013). NGO practitioners and social educators were questioned about their work experience, their perception of strengths and weaknesses in their work approach and the meaning they attribute to key issues in the project.

We have classified the material collected, identifying actual (social mediation, effective communication, professional self-awareness, education in social housing contexts, support and information in home searching, networking with social services, legal and administrative support activities) and future (community work, social planning, social management of social housing communities, property management and

facility management) work areas. The profile descriptions have been validated during two focus groups with all the social educators working in regional NGOs in the social housing field.

The exploration of social worker profiles has been intersected with adult educators' profiles as defined in the document "Key competences for adult learning professionals" (Buiskool, Broek, van Lakerveld, Zarifis & Osborne, 2010). The central idea emerging is that educational aspects are implicit in many social educators' profiles, from nurses to NGO practitioners.

In fact our exploration demonstrates that the general key competences of social educators in SHe are exactly the same of those described in the document "Key competences for adult learning professionals", even if the social educators who take part in the workshops and focus groups do not describe and perceive themselves as educators in the first instance. They tended to consider first of all the technical, administrative and legal aspects of their profiles, while when discussing and collecting their professional biographies, very different points emerged.

They consider as the most important aspect of their work personal and supportive relations with people involved in SH interventions, while the socio-economic condition of people is considered as the decisive risk factor for projects aiming at social inclusion of marginalised people.

The very interesting thing is the fact that while the first factor is completely under professional control of social educators, the second is completely out of their control, subjected to difficult conditions of the labour market and to the weakening of welfare system protection following the financial crisis. In fact another very weak point underlined by the NGO practitioners is the fact that they feel themselves as the last bastion of a collapsing welfare system. Even if they cooperate in integrated approaches with social services, they mainly manage the "last chance cases". They feel like the terminal of a social protection system which tends to marginalise the marginalized because of the reduction of resources and the growing competition for social services among poor Italians and foreigners. Finally they are in a certain sense expected, as private (and marginal) players of Civil Society Organizations, to solve the effects of social crisis that public services are not in a condition to cope with.

In this sense NGO practitioners are invited to assume the role of empowering marginalized people following the general approach of persuasion, normalisation, and inclusion (Rose, 1996; Vandenabeele et al., 2011). In this sense NGO practitioners also in the new Italian SH framework risk becoming part of those social technologies which assure the possibility to govern spaces and encounters with regulatory effects (Ong, 1999).

In our research trajectory, we tried to stimulate ourselves as researchers and the social educators we work with to reflect on the relation between citizenship, places and educational processes, working on images, imaginary and representations. In the interplay between these three dimensions, different ideas of citizenship emerged. Both immigrants, social educators and NGO practitioners are described or describe themselves as participating (or non-participating) and relational (or non-relational) citizens (Vandenabeele et al., 2011, pp. 196-201). Our attempt in planning research activities was to stimulate the reflection on a third idea of citizen: the indefinite citizen. 'The citizen we encounter in these circumstances [characterized by openness and indefiniteness] is an indefinite citizen. She is, just like us, a passer-by' (Vandenabeele et al., 2011, p. 204). NGO practitioners as adult educators have been invited to reflect on alternative ways of thinking educational processes in SHe in Borgo Stazione, where citizens learn citizenship living-in and passing-through. In these spaces education could

be considered not only as an imperative of integration and fraternity, but also as ‘a space where the foreign, the frictions, the dilemmas and conflicts can be articulated’ (Vandenabeele et al., 2011, p. 204). In this sense education means ‘the exploration of spaces which are anomalous or alienating rather than ‘pleasant’ or ‘nice’, and therefore enable us to envision a kind of citizenship which reflects our present-day ways of living together’ (Vandenabeele et al., 2011, p. 204).

SHe could be conceptualized as spaces where these ways of living together are being experimented and ‘where education and learning are again connected to societal issues, under the inspiration of old and new values such as democracy, social justice, sustainability, freedom, responsibility, equality and solidarity’ (Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012, p. 13).

In the process of supporting NGO practitioners we have tried to enhance a self-reflective path, mapping the professional profiles as mentioned above and working on professional imaginary of NGO practitioners at three levels according to the following principles:

- the research process as learning and changing process
- self-analysis and evaluation as a basis for building professional learning
- centrality of exchange among different social actors
- centrality of interaction between learning and action (Alessandrini, 2005, p. 163).

At a first personal and group level, we have tried to map social representations of social educators of issues at stake in the project. We have used the social representation theory (Moscovici, 1989) because relevant research in Italy has been realized in the area of housing problems (Massari, 2000; Cardano, Meo & Olagnero, 2003).

At a second comparative level, we have exposed social educators to different experiences of community working in different countries and we have invited Vicini di Casa to organize in Italy workshops to host NGO practitioners from different countries to present them their intervention model and their activities.

Thirdly at a reflexive level, we have realized some sessions of shadowing, following social educators during their normal work activities and we have discussed with them the materials collected.

We have discussed the results of research activities with social educators with the aim to propose possible directions for social educators training.

Some preliminary results

> [...] education could be conceived as creating conditions in which people's identities are interrupted by the presence of others who articulate opinions, or different expressions of what life and living together is about. (Wildemeersch & Kurantowicz, 2011, p. 130)

Some preliminary results emerge from our action research.

The first one is the fact that social educators tend to oversimplify their vision of challenges and solutions in SHe, while questioned on models and methodologies of intervention.

The answers given by NGO practitioners tend to be similar to those given by other social educators in different contexts in terms of explanatory models and typologies of intervention (Massari, 2000; Cardano et al., 2003).

The first part of our work tended to make social educators aware of this explanatory models leading their work.

We tried to achieve this aim in three different movements: inviting people to look at similar problems in other places; inviting people to look at the same problems with other eyes, assuming the point of view of external observers visiting their work place; shifting social educators point of view from a single case based approach to a community approach, where different points of view on problems and solutions are in reciprocal dialogue.

We presented to social educators materials collected with PEI in the Borgo Stazione area in order to stimulate their reaction and interpretation in relation to inhabitants' self-representations of the case study area.

To a certain extent we have conceived the research process trying to make *the strange familiar and the familiar strange*. This classical anthropological approach allows to make ostensibly strange cultural practices comprehensible, like the use of arts to work on poverty, and to make social educators' professional culture worthy of analysis.

The second part of our work was aimed at exploring alternative and supposedly innovative ways to face social problems in marginal areas and with marginal people, trying to shift social educators' point of view from a rational based intervention to a creative and innovative way of thinking social change (van der Veen & Wildemeersch, 2012).

We explored community mapping and community arts as opportunities to look at social problems, and possible solutions, with other eyes: referring less to concrete and functional interventions, while rather attempting to imagine a new kind of citizens' participation. The guiding idea was that all kinds of social intervention are a meta-narrative of our way to give meaning to the world and to justify our actions in the world (Andreotti, 2010). From an educational point of view educators have to be aware that their meta-narratives contribute to build one of the possible stories of persons, places, problems, social services.

In this sense also the new Social Housing framework in Italy and the entailed role of social manager are one of the possible narratives on living together in complex societies. Social educators need to pluralize epistemologies and ways of thinking and practicing their role, to become autonomous and intellectually equipped educators (Andreotti, 2010), experiencing new ways of learning (and teaching): learning to unlearn, learning to listen, learning to learn and learning to reach out (Andreotti & de Sousa, 2008, p. 4). This kind of exercise could allow social educators to avoid implementing, uncritically, policies coming from outside and above, even those aimed at social inclusion and social cohesion.

Conclusion

What do our findings mean in terms of designing training for social educators and NGO practitioners working in SHe?

It could mean a shift from a training centred on contents and methodologies, to one centred on processes and professional reflexivity.

It could mean a shift from a training centred on reproduction to a training centred on innovative and creative ways to think of what it means to be citizens in these times of crisis.

It could mean to shift from passe-partout educational solutions to context related solutions, when educational processes are strongly embedded in places.

It could mean a shift from theories of citizenship and social inclusion to citizenship practices.

It could mean a shift in SHe from practices of social cohesion and inclusion to social laboratories of practiced citizenship (Roets et al., 2012; Biesta & Cowell, 2012), taking into account the complexity of differences in terms of classes, ages, gender, lifestyles and ethnic background and the global/local interplay among these elements.

Social Housing neighbourhoods seem to be one of these possible laboratories of practiced citizenship, where people coming from different contexts and different backgrounds learn day by day how to live together, taking decisions concerning common good and common spaces, learning values, skills and competencies, conflicting and negotiating the actual possibilities to exercise citizenship (Mündel, Duguid & Schugurensky, 2006).

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Education as a response to sustainability issues

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Abstract

In the field of environmental education and education for sustainable development, there is a lively discussion about the paradox between acknowledging pluralism and taking into account urgent sustainability concerns. With this article, we aim at nurturing this debate theoretically and empirically. We draw on concepts of Latour and Marres that allow an analysis of educational practices that strive to take into account a multiplicity of views, values, interests and knowledge claims without resorting to an 'anything goes' relativism vis-à-vis the far-reaching implications of sustainability issues. We present an analysis of a guided tour of a CSA farm (Community Supported Agriculture) and articulate how the care for a sustainability issue can incite an interesting educational dynamic (understood as 'education as a respons'e) that emerges as a derivative of 'mastery'.

Keywords: environmental education; sustainability; pluralism; community supported agriculture

Introduction

Issues of sustainability are complex, uncertain, and contested as they are interwoven with diverging and often irreconcilable values, interests and knowledge claims (Marres, 2005; Dijstelbloem 2007). It is often unclear who (or which groups) will suffer from the mainly far-reaching consequences. In a world of risk and uncertainty, Ashley (2005, p. 195) argues, 'right answers' might turn out to be 'horrendously wrong'. In such a context 'there is no longer something to be taught that is universally agreed upon or that can be universally applied' (Wals, 2010, p. 144). Many authors argue therefore for a *pluralistic* (some label it *democratic*) approach to environmental education (EE) and education for sustainable development (ESD), one that acknowledges, stimulates, and engages a variety of values, interests, and knowledge claims (e.g. Jickling, 1994; Jensen & Schnack, 1997; Lijmbach, Margadant-van Arcken, van Koppen & Wals, 2002; Öhman, 2006; Jickling & Wals, 2007; Breiting, 2009; Rudsberg & Öhman, 2010; Wals,

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2010; Læssøe & Öhman, 2010; Jóhannesson, Norðdahl, Óskarsdóttir, Pálsdóttir, & Pétursdóttir, 2011; Lundegård & Wickman, 2012). Their plea can be regarded a critique against approaches to EE and ESD that aim to serve a particular end, i.e. behavioural modification in the pursuit of sustainability. Repeatedly, researchers point at the risk of EE and ESD becoming an instrument for manipulation and indoctrination (Jickling & Spork, 1998; Bonnett, 1999, 2000; Wals & Jickling, 2000; Jickling, 2001, 2003; Ashley, 2005; Jickling & Wals, 2007) which positions 'learners as marionettes for the good intentions of environmentalists or environmental educators' (Breiting, 2009, p. 200). Pluralistic EE and ESD, by contrast, is characterised by indeterminism, open-endedness, free opinion-making, critical thought/dialogue, and enhancing students' competence to act (Gough & Scott, 2007; Wals, 2007; Rudsberg & Öhman, 2010). The idea is that EE and ESD should foster independent and critical thinking, stimulating learners to become active citizens (Jensen & Schnack, 1997; Breiting, 2009; Jóhannesson et al., 2011) who are able 'to debate, evaluate, and judge for themselves the relative merits of contesting positions' (Jickling, 1994, p. 8). Pluralistic EE and ESD, Rudsberg and Öhman (2010) argue, strive to acknowledge and engage different perspectives, views and values when dealing with sustainability issues. Students are made aware of the fact that there is more than one possibility, and encouraged to examine and evaluate different alternatives and to be critical of their own statements. Deliberative, open-ended conversations whereby 'different arguments are encouraged and considered and no particular standpoint is privileged' (Rudsberg & Öhman, 2010, p. 106) are seen as a key aspect of education.

This open-endedness in EE and ESD, however, is the target of criticism too. While "indoctrination" toward predetermined goals has been rejected on the basis of pluralistic/democratic concerns, indeterminism is challenged on the basis of sustainability concerns. Are all outcomes of an educational process equally desirable, Wals (2010) wonders, on condition that they emerged from carefully considering different points of view and engaging in (joint) meaning making? He draws attention to the risk of falling into "anything goes relativism":

> The plea for pluralism might lead to this kind of relativism when in the end it is accepted that any perspective or position on sustainability or sustainable development is as good as any other one, that your view on sustainability is as true as mine and that I would be wrong to critique yours, and while it might be wrong from my perspective, it might be right from yours. (Wals, 2010, p. 145)

Dobson (2003, p. 26), too, emphasises that 'if harm is being done, then more justice rather than more talking is the first requirement'. Justice, for him, is about an equal distribution of 'ecological footprints', that is, of environmental harms and benefits. Kopnina (2012, p. 710) addresses the danger of 'lapsing into indecisive relativism' with a plea for an ecocentric perspective in EE and ESD. These authors put forward normative criteria based on sustainability concerns since, as Kopnina (2012) emphasises, there is no guarantee that a pluralistic approach to education will address ecocentric perspectives while the dominant anthropocentric corporatist perspectives are counter-productive to the effort of preventing urgent environmental problems.

In analysing this debate, what comes to the fore is a search for a 'delicate balance' between sustainability concerns and the acknowledgement of a variety of commitments and values (Östman, 2010, p. 75). But, as some authors argue (Östman, 2010; Rudsberg & Öhman, 2010; Lundegård & Wickman, 2012), it is still far from clear what pluralistic (or democratic) EE and ESD actually mean. Furthermore, empirical research (e.g. as to whether and how it appears in educational practices) remains rare. With this article, we aim at nurturing this debate theoretically as well as empirically by examining how the

abovementioned delicate balance is handled within an educational practice. In doing so, we want to articulate an understanding of EE and ESD that moves beyond the dichotomised distinction between indoctrination versus anything-goes-relativism. Theoretically, we draw on the insights of Bruno Latour and Noortje Marres about the entanglement of human and non-human actors in *matters of concern* so as to put the tension between acknowledging pluralism and taking into account sustainability concerns in another light. Simons and Masschelein's (2011) notion of *mastery*, then, allows us to articulate how the care for a sustainability issue (as a matter of concern) can incite an educational dynamic that neither resorts to indoctrination nor to undue relativism. The master, they argue, perceives the world, or an issue, as demanding care. Hence, there is always something at stake. As we will show, it is this concern for the world that is central in this educational dynamic.

Matters of concern

We opened this article with elaborating on the complexity, uncertainty, and contestation that characterise sustainability issues. In the context of these issues transparent and uncontested facts are rare while the consequences are far-reaching and cause social controversies. Such issues, Latour (2004, 2005, 2010) argues, should therefore be approached as *matters of concern* instead of *matters of fact*. He uses the term matters of fact referring to approaches to reality in terms of facts that are assumed to *speak by themselves* and are, thus, beyond dispute. Such facts serve as a standard then to distinguish between some enlightened people who have unmediated access to the truth, captured in undisputable facts, and the others who articulate disputable assertions, opinions and values. Yet, he argues, an increase in scientific controversies challenges the logic of transparent, unmediated, undisputable facts. Moreover, we face a proliferation of states of affairs that neither fit in the list of "mere" values, opinions, preferences, etc. nor in the list of undisputable facts. Latour introduces the concept of matters of concern as an attempt to overcome the dichotomous thinking between on the one hand unmediated and undisputable *facts*, *the truth*, *nature* (commonly referred to as *objective*) and on the other hand disputable *values*, *opinions*, *preferences*, *interpretations*, *choices*, *struggles* (what we commonly label *social* and *subjective*) (see also Decuypere, Simons & Masschelein, 2011; Goeminne & François, 2010). What 'highly complex, historically situated, richly diverse matters of concern' (Latour, 2004, p. 237) show, he argues, is that both facts and values are only very partial renderings of the issue at stake. Neither facts nor values can exist by themselves. In the same way as facts can only exist by the values and concerns that sustain them, values are completely powerless when their factual underpinnings are removed from view, turning them in mere opinions.

Latour (2005) and Marres (2005) argue that such matters of concern are characterised by an intimate entanglement of a variety of human and non-human actors that are *caught up* in the affair. Marres (2010) emphasises that actors are not only affected by these issues in factual terms. This *state of affectedness* also refers to being touched, implicated, and being moved in the sense of being mobilised by the necessity to have these issues systematically cared for (Marres, 2010). In line with this Latour argues that actors' relation to matters of concern – whether it takes the form of attention, interest, or involvement – should be understood then in terms of *attachment*. Attachment, in this account, is a mode of *being affected by* whereby actors are both actively *committed* to an object of passion and *dependent* on it (Marres, 2005). The

object binds them in the sense that their pleasure, fate, way of life and perhaps even the meaningfulness of their world is conditioned by it and they must do a lot of work so as to sustain this object of passion. Drawing on this notion of attachments Marres argues that actors are not only jointly but also *antagonistically* implicated in matters of concern. They have divergent attachments and the sustainability of these attachments is threatened by the attachments that exclude them. Being jointly and antagonistically implicated in an issue, then, means being bound together by mutual exclusivities between various attachments.

Precisely these joint and antagonistic attachments through which a variety of actors is caught up in a matter of concern are at the basis of the delicate balance between sustainability concerns and the acknowledgement of a variety of commitments and values. The concept of mutually exclusive attachments enables moving beyond the contradistinction between pluralism (and the allied risk of undue relativism and ignoring facts concerning far-reaching consequences of sustainability issues) and indoctrination (and the associated threat to democratic values) but instead takes a position *within* this tension without the ambition to "solve" it. The divergence of attachments is acknowledged and, since it cannot be assumed that these can co-exist peacefully, stands in the way of an anything goes relativism. Marres (2005) further elaborates this idea of the irreconcilability of attachments by referring to Annemarie Mol's notion of *multiplicity*. Both the terms *plurality* and *multiplicity* refer to some kind of variety. Yet, whereas plurality in Mol's account implies different entities that exist side by side, in parallel, multiplicity refers to varying entities that are enmeshed in one another, but at the same time, cannot be reconciled. It implies both mutual entanglement and difference. Matters of concern thus entail a multiplicity rather than a plurality of attachments. Taking these mutually exclusive attachments seriously – that is, enacting their irreconcilability, making manifest the point at which attachments prove mutually exclusive – is in this sense very different from taking into account a plurality of views, opinions, values and knowledge claims.

At the beginning of this article we outlined the debate about pluralistic versus normative approaches to EE and ESD. This reflects a search within educational theory to move beyond the dichotomy between, on the one hand, teaching the "factual truth" about the "nature" of sustainability issues and, on the other, an open-ended exploration and deliberation about a variety of values, opinions, and preferences of equal value. Above, we argued how Marres' and Latour's ideas about joint and antagonistic attachments to matters of concern allowed us to put the tension between acknowledging pluralism and taking into account sustainability concerns in another light. In the remainder of this article we draw on these insights in search of an understanding of education beyond the paradox of indoctrination versus anything-goes-relativism. First, we present an empirical analysis of an educational practice[1]: a guided tour of a CSA farm (Community Supported Agriculture[2]). The question that guides our analysis is how a matter of concern, i.e. the issue of sustainable agriculture, is dealt with in this particular educational setting. Marres' and Latour's characterisation of matters of concern in terms of entanglement stimulates us to focus on the *assemblages* that emerge during the guided tour. How does a particular assemblage around the issue of sustainable agriculture arise during the activity? Which actors (human as well as non-human) are drawn into it and which are excluded? How does this affect the space for the enactment of joint and antagonistic attachments? And how to understand the interaction between the farmer, the students, and the issue at stake as an *educational* act? Drawing on Simons and Masschelein's (2011) notion of mastery, we will argue that it is precisely the farmer's concern for an issue that incites an interesting educational dynamic.

So as to analyse these questions, we conducted an in-depth analysis of the guided tour. The activity took 1 hour and 40 minutes and has been observed and video-recorded. Verbatim transcripts of the Dutch-spoken conversation were complemented with descriptions of the observed non-verbal aspects of the setting (gestures, movements, material context, etc.). The excerpts used below have been translated to English by a professional translator who tried to reflect the original wording. We analysed these data using the qualitative analysis software QSR NVivo. In line with Latour's and Marres' claim that a matter of concern brings about an assemblage of both human and non-human actors, we scrutinised the conversation (spoken text and non-verbal communication) as well as the materiality of the setting in which the guided tour took place. The analytical work started with repeatedly examining the recordings and transcripts so as to search for sequences where actors were drawn into the assemblage or blocked out of it or where the participants voiced a concern that could be understood as what Marres conceptualised as an attachment. We then analysed how the new actors were handled during the guided tour (e.g. were they welcomed or challenged as being a legitimate part of the assemblage around the issue of sustainable agriculture?) and how the diverse attachments were addressed (e.g. whether or not the points at which they might be mutually exclusive were enacted). Finally, the analysis made by one of the researchers was validated by the other through critical examination of the findings in relation to the empirical material.

Assembling the issue of sustainable agriculture

The activity we analyse here is a guided tour of a CSA farm for a group of undergraduate students in bioscience engineering. The students arrived at the farm by car accompanied by their professor who told us that they visit this farm besides others in the context of the course *Sustainable agricultural techniques*. She already visited the farm the year before, with other students, and decided to do it again as it 'deviates so strongly from common farms'. While we were waiting for the farmer to guide the tour, the students looked around in the old hangar stuffed with an outmoded tractor, spades, plastic boxes, rakes, pots of different sizes, tables, chairs, an old blackboard, toys, boots, pots with plants, garments, etc. The hangar gives on to a small piece of land with little or no crops ripe for harvesting and a lot of weeds. Indeed, this differs strongly from the common image of large-scale and high-technological farms that are mainstream in Flemish agriculture. The farmer arrived and welcomed the students. The tour started in the hangar where the students, the professor and the farmer stood in a circle. The students made notes. The farmer started his talk, in line with the course's focus on sustainable agriculture, with referring to a concept that is widely used in sustainability discourse: the *Triple P* (People – Planet – Profit). This concept is often highlighted as indispensable content within ESD curriculum and thereby mainly understood as a balance between social, ecological and economic concerns (Van Poeck et al., 2013). Yet, the farmer did not grant equal value to People, Planet, and Profit:

> And I don't know if anyone here knows what the three Ps are? ... Never heard of them? […] - OK, the first P, for us, is 'planet'. This means that we generally assume that without nature and without the planet and without the, how everything works in nature, that we wouldn't have any farms in fact. So I think it's essential in all the decisions we make, that we propose that you first have nature and that you need to examine how it all fits together. So perhaps there is already a major difference with how you view nature...because most

> people start with the second P, that stands for people, um, indeed that's also important for us that's also why we do it or why we are involved in nature.

In doing so, he expressed and elaborated his own commitment to 'the planet'. All the choices he makes, he argued, are affected by his concern for this planet. The language he used did not present this account of sustainable agriculture as a matter of fact (e.g. 'I think', 'our choices', 'for us') but brought to the fore what Marres (2005) has called an attachment, that is, how he as a farmer was both actively *committed* to the planet and felt *dependent* on it. Immediately he also pointed out the possibility that the students might have other attachments – *people*, for instance –, yet, without leaving room for them to respond as he promptly continued his talk about how he understood the people and profit dimension of the Triple P. After his explanation, he did ask for a response: 'Now I don't know if this ties in somehow with your vision of agriculture?' One of the students expressed how he saw it, which obviously deviated from the farmer's point of view:

> Student 1: Agriculture must be productive. As much... not as much as possible, it's still the intention, yes to produce food and to make sure there's enough.
>
> Farmer: Yes, so for you the P for profit takes precedence?
>
> Student 1: Yes [nodding]

These interactions revealed how actors can be implicated in the issue of sustainable agriculture by different attachments: the planet or profit. Although the student's concern for sufficient food production could also be understood as an attachment to people, he firmly endorsed the farmer's assumption that he puts profit first. The farmer continued the discussion by challenging the student's attachment to profit. Doing so, he highlighted the controversy implied in the divergent views and challenged a conception of sustainability as a balance between People, Planet, and Profit by encouraging the students – in a rather provocative way – to make explicit how they interpret the abstract and vague Triple P concept:

> Farmer: Therefore producing food, or allowing people to invest money in banks or trade it on the stock markets, that's the same, that's profit.
>
> Student 1: There's a difference, but…
>
> Farmer: What's the difference?
>
> Student 1: The difference… yeah, to consider it a job, farming… If you compare it to banking, it should also… The profit seeking, it is different, isn't it?
>
> Farmer: [...] If you look at the bottom-line of agriculture, it's about profit, and I say it's wrong. Start with speculating on the stock markets. It will yield much more than agriculture [...] I just want to ask you the question to be somewhat confrontational. Because it is not straightforward in this society, farming... But tell me if I am being too confrontational or if I also say something that doesn't make sense OK? Because it, this is just my subjective story.

Here, too, he specified his attachment as a personal point of view and he invited the students to contest it. They did not, and he continued his talk with an extensive elaboration on how the historical development of European agriculture after the Second World War, incited by a concern for abandoning hunger, was characterised by a

tendency towards more technological interventions, increase in scale, and a growing dependence on subsidies. Again, he encouraged the students to bring in their own point of view:

> Farmer: So it's the third P that now has the upper hand in agriculture. All the farmers are tearing their hair out and actually their closest relationship is with their bank manager. Well, you can say if it's true or not OK?
>
> Student 2: No, it's true, but as a farmer it's your choice whether to start a business or not isn't it?
>
> Farmer: Yes, that's true.
>
> Student 2: So yes, you choose whether you want to get involved with the banks.

As a response, one of the students thus drew a new (non-human) actor into the emerging assemblage around the issue at stake, that is, the consideration that it is the farmers' own choice whether or not to go along with this tendency. The farmer agreed with this argument, yet, subsequently he highlighted that such a choice is not merely a matter of non-committal opinions or preferences. He told about one of the consequences of the choice he actually made, that is, the fact that his small-scaled farm cannot benefit from subsidies and emphasised that his attachment to the planet implied hard work and financial difficulties:

> If you choose, very consciously, for the P, that we are going to start with nature, and we start as a farmer but we are not going to get involved in the business of building a new hangar or buying new tractors and starting a completely new business, then you get left by the wayside. So we are the turnaround in fact, we are causing the changeover with our business. I am not the only one in Europe, and certainly not in Flanders, that views agriculture like that. Now, it is hard work. [...] That means that we are really managing our crops, land and nature and people in a different way. And the last P, profit, this will indeed be a difficult issue for us. That's why we need to work hard and get started.

In doing so, he repeated his attachment to the planet and further elaborated it by focussing on its implications. As such, he moved the discussion beyond the mere expression of opinions by relating the student's opinion to his own, profound experience. The way in which the farmer talked about this experience seemed to have caught the students' attention and interest. Student 1 asked: 'Who are you actually? Or, yeah, how did you end up in this business?' His question revealed that he experienced what the farmer was talking about as somewhat odd or, at least, unfamiliar. The second student was curious to know his opinion about conventional agriculture: 'But, what is your opinion then, of conventional agriculture?' She told that her parents ran a pig farm using conventional techniques and, thus, her family's livelihood depended on it. The farmer argued why he thinks that conventional agriculture will come to a dead end and pointed out the policy on agricultural subsidies as a major obstacle for sustainable agriculture. As such, he enacted the irreconcilability of an attachment to the planet versus an attachment to conventional agriculture which he characterised as profit-oriented. The discussion expanded as more students now got involved in the conversation. Some students contradicted the farmer's arguments and the antagonism between different attachments was further emphasised.

> Farmer: I don't receive any subsidies. And I also think that it would be very good to say that we are putting an end to them.

Student 2: But you also don't live from it.

Farmer: I do live from it.

Student 2: Oh, you said yourself that you don't pay yourself a wage.

Farmer: Yes but that's different. You don't need a wage to be able to live from it. I eat from it. That's a big difference. If you think I've got EUR 2,000 on my account at the end of the month. I think I've got EUR 900 or something like that on my account.

Student 2: Yes but food alone doesn't get you far.

Farmer: No, but yes, that's what we have to do. That's the transition we have to make. That's the change we have to bring about. I think some major steps are going to be necessary to consciously address or handle it.

Student 1: Not everyone can do it though. It is nevertheless...

Farmer: Why not?

Student 1: What would we eat? If everyone... There's more, I mean yes...

As the discussion continued, new concerns were brought into it. Famine, for instance:

Farmer: Then I'd say yes, ninety percent of farming throughout the world is managed like this.

Student 2: Yes, there are also I don't know how many going hungry.

Farmer: Yes, of course but that's because our onions and the chickens that are subsidised are exported to Benin, and to Toga and to the Gambia and wherever it is. They are put on the market at dumping prices and the people there can't sell their own produce because it is more expensive. So an African produced chicken or cow, or milk, or egg or onion is more expensive than those produced in Europe with subsidies for the farmer and the producer and the distributor here, which is sold there and transported - large footprints and so on - so they don't produce onions there any more for the moment

Or agricultural policy in Africa:

Student 4: But isn't that the fault of Africa's agricultural policy, that they have taken the wrong approach?

Farmer: The African countries (...) are lobbying intensely because Europe and the United States should stop subsidising their agriculture to such an extent. And as long as that doesn't happen, well, that's why I think that it must happen urgently, right? Then you still have a world in disarray.

In both cases the farmer related the student's concern, again, to the issue of subsidies. Next, he for his part brought the issue of speculation into the discussion. Both topics enabled him to highlight, once more, the mutually exclusive attachments to planet or profit.

Because our sector is one that people speculate on, right. Banks speculate on the price of sugar or flour, and it's not even about the speculation itself, it's just about whether the price will fall or rise, which means that for once they will make a profit from it. So just from the differences in exchange rates. It goes too far. I think that goes too far... […] [student 2 agrees with the farmer's point of view] So I think we are just shifting towards

> economics, that we must really think of something completely different. I think that agriculture has a very important role to play. We are the primary sector. That's why I also chose the farming business. Well, like, how can you change the world, eh? When you're 45, you think, right, what else is there for me to do in life and then I thought, OK, that's what I'm going to do. That's something I am really going to go for. I am really going to do it well, you know? And whatever the cost I will shoot myself in the foot and earn less. I used to work in TV where I earned about eight times as much. And now I don't, but OK, I am happier and I really feel like I am doing something useful.

Emphasising this contrast allowed the farmer to reconfirm and further clarify his own attachment. Here, he explicitly indicated that his happiness, way of life and even the meaningfulness of his world depended on it. As a response, some students asked more questions so as to grasp what this attachment actually implied. For instance:

> Student 4: So you think that a farmer in Europe should have twenty cows, twenty pigs, and as many crops he or she needs for the local...
>
> […]
>
> Student 6: So you are actually more fair trade focused then?

Others contradicted what the farmer put forward:

> Student 1: Imagine if the subsidies were completely removed. Then we would still produce food much more efficiently than Africa. And it would still be cheaper.

Or, again, they brought in new concerns:

> Student 3: The shops, they buy as cheaply as possible. And yes it is usually the case that products from Belgium, that are grown here, are more expensive than those that are imported. And they can't be taxed as an import product because Europe doesn't allow that. And if they tax it, yes, that's protectionism. You know, if Europe were to tax something that is imported. And then the others, Europe's trading partners would say yes but you can't do that. You are caught in your structure and you can't just change this structure by saying that you're going to farm in a different way. Well, that's what I think.
>
> […]
>
> Student 2: But isn’t it also the consumer's problem, that the consumer must be willing to pay more?
>
> […]
>
> Student 6: So actually you are disconnecting part of the chain?
>
> Farmer: We are shortening the chain. Yes.
>
> Student 3: That is actually what we saw in the exhibition too. That's actually ruining everything.
>
> […]
>
> Student 3: If everyone produces in this way then it will be impossible to produce enough food for the whole of Belgium.
>
> […]

> Student 4: But won't you need more agricultural land as well, if you want to work like that? ... You will need more land.

As a result, the assemblage around the issue of sustainable agriculture grew. New actors – human as well as non-human – were drawn into it: shops, taxes, consumers, the chain of distribution, food shortage and agricultural land. The issue was further explored as the newly raised concerns were elaborated. For example the question of agricultural land:

> Farmer: We are working on around 1.5 hectare. How many people can you feed with that? ... Well, with vegetables and fruit and ...
>
> Student 2: Only with vegetables and fruit then?
>
> Farmer: Yes.
>
> Student 2: You could also ask, is there meat?
>
> Student 4: And meat?
>
> Farmer: That is the question. That is a good question isn't it? It depends um, how much does meat cost? Meat is extremely expensive isn't it, compared with...
>
> Student 4: But if you want to organise it like that then for a cattle farm it means there must be less animals or you will need more agricultural land.
>
> Farmer: Yes.
>
> Student 4: If you want to keep it organic and keep your manure in your cycle, you need more agricultural land don't you, and you will ...
>
> Farmer: Or look at it in a different way. [...] Look, if you have one hectare that's enough to feed approximately two hundred people for an entire year. But that is, yes that is a completely different way of thinking to one hectare yields so many tonnes of carrots or so many tonnes...
>
> Student 2: And how much agricultural land is there in Flanders? [The farmer shakes his head to indicate that he is not sure]
>
> Student 4: 600,000. 600,000 hectares.
>
> […]
>
> Student 2: And that's just vegetables.
>
> Student 4: And that's just vegetables, yes.
>
> […]
>
> Student 2: But do you think that everyone must become a vegetarian or something like that then or do you think meat production will still be possible?
>
> Farmer: I think that meat production is still possible, I like eating meat. But I think that less meat is necessary. [Many students nod in agreement]

Again, the assemblage expanded as the issue was related to new concerns (e.g. land use for the production of meat) which brought new attachments into the discussion (e.g. an attachment to eating meat).

The farmer interrupted the discussion and took the students for a guided walk on the farm. Incited by (sometimes coincidental and unexpected) observations and encounters, the issue of sustainable agriculture was further explored and additional concerns were raised. For instance, a map of the area showing different kinds of land use (agriculture, nature reserves, etc.) drew attention to the expansion of nature reserves and brought about a discussion on nature conservation, preservation of the listed farmhouse and the issue of land ownership. By the observation of weeds on the field one of the students asked questions about the use of pesticides and the farmer explained how he applies biodynamic agricultural techniques that were introduced by Rudolf Steiner. He showed the students the tools he used and the hedges and trees he planted throughout the fields (agro-forestry) and told them how a plague of plant louses on his crops has been controlled by ladybirds. Going further into this issue of pesticides, a discussion arose about GMOs and potato disease (phytophthora) which was a topical subject in Belgium at that time because of a controversy about environmental activists who destroyed GMO potatoes on a trial field. The conversation meandered from this contested direct action over the interests of bioengineering corporations and intellectual property law to the monoculture of potatoes suited for deep-frozen products, contemporary eating habits, etc. A sudden encounter with a fox on the field provoked a discussion about fox-hunt. Through these interactions, the irreconcilability of the attachments to the planet and to conventional agriculture was further enacted. For example:

> Student 1: What's so wrong about spraying with Roundup so they are gone? [laughter]
>
> […]
>
> Farmer: But other things are also destroyed, aren't they? And we want to make the soil more dynamic don’t we? If you continue to use your product...
>
> Student 1: With Roundup?
>
> Farmer: Yes, with Roundup, yes.
>
> Student 1: What will be ...destroyed?
>
> Farmer: All the weeds, the soil life that it also supports. There is a lot... a lot of fungi that are all gone. It's all gone.
>
> Student 1: Because of Roundup, really?
>
> Farmer: It is a fairly, well a fairly ruthless product, Roundup.
>
> Student 1: Is it? […]
>
> Another student: You should find out about Roundup, what percentage targets the plant, how much gets into drinking water and everything. It’s huge.
>
> Student 1: Into the drinking water, come on... [laughter]

Thus, by further exploring the issue, new actors were drawn into the assemblage: land owners, fungi, brass and bronze tools, plant louses, ladybirds, agro-forestry, Rudolf Steiner, breeders' rights, multinationals such as Bayer and Monsanto, industrial chips and croquettes, freezers, foxes, chicken farmers, etc. Throughout the conversation, the farmer repeatedly emphasised that his striving for agriculture that puts the planet first is not a mere opinion by highlighting that he 'cannot tell another story'. It is what Marres articulates as an attachment.'Well that's my point of view. You don't have to agree with it, do you? But that's all I can tell you'.

Education as a response

Our analysis of this guided tour showed a sustained and profound attention – on the part of both the farmer and the students – for the issue of sustainable agriculture. Throughout the activity, this issue was further explored, studied, and discussed, not in an abstract sense but starting from something that was at stake: the farmer's efforts to take care of his attachment to the planet by establishing a farm. The way in which he spoke about this attachment and about how it affected both his view on sustainable agriculture and his efforts to put this in practice offered the students an appeal to respond to it. In doing so, they raised other concerns and knowledge claims. As such, the conversation created a space for the expansion of the assemblage around the issue at stake and for the articulation of diverse attachments and the enactment of their mutual exclusivity.

Latour highlights that in relation to matters of concern 'nothing is beyond dispute. And yet, *closure* has to be achieved' (Latour, 2010, p. 7 – emphasis added). Marres (2005), too, argues that it is not only essential to articulate such issues and the attachments at stake and to draw actors into the assemblage around it but also to formulate a possible *settlement* for it. Closure or settlement, here, is about an (always provisional) attempt to take care of an issue (Marres, 2005), about 'coming to a decision' (Latour, 2005, p. 21). What our analysis shows is that the care for an issue and the attempt to find a settlement for it incited an interesting *educational* dynamic.

What we observed was an educator speaking about his very singular attachment, thereby appealing to an equally singular response on the part of the students. The students were invited to respond to the questions, points of view, and experiences of the farmer in full recognition of the antagonism, ambiguities, and differences that exist between them (Vandenabeele & Wildemeersch, 2012). Where Marres and Latour speak of closure or settlement in terms of a political process we want to characterise the response that was incited during the guided tour as an *educational closure.* It is a closure which can be understood as a derivative of what Simons and Masschelein (2011) have labelled mastery. They introduce the idea of the teacher-as-master as opposed to the currently dominant image of the teacher-as-expert and elaborate how the latter's relation to the world, to others as well as to him-/herself is based on knowledge and competence (expert knowledge in a discipline or subject, didactic knowledge, and self-knowledge respectively). Mastery, on the other hand, is characterised by relations of *care*. The teacher-as-master perceives the world, or something in the world, as demanding care. The master is, thus, someone who takes up responsibility for the world. This is, indeed, what our analysis of the guided tour or, more precisely, of the interaction between the farmer, the students, and the issue of sustainable agriculture shows. The planet, here, does not primarily emerge as something that has to be known so that this knowledge can subsequently be transmitted to the students. Rather, what the farmer shows is that his attachment to the planet and to a form of agriculture that puts

this planet first involves toil and moil. And, as Simons and Masschelein (2011, p. 25) phrase it, 'it is a question of searching, of being engaged, of caring – that is, of not being indifferent'. Mastery shows itself, Simons and Masschelein argue, in a constant and attentive search for accordance between what one thinks and what one does. The farmer voiced how he engaged in such a search and decided to set up the CSA farm as this was what made sense for him. While taking care for his farm, the crops, and the shareholders and through the decisions he has to make (e.g. as to the use of pesticides) the farmer is challenged time and again to ascertain whether what he thinks and what he does are in accordance. In what the farmer says and does, he presents himself and his attachment thereby rendering himself vulnerable to the diversity of attachments brought in by the students. For the master, Simons and Masschelein (2011) stress, there is always something at stake as (s)he has no indifferent relation to what (s)he is dealing with. The care for his farm can be considered the farmer's very singular response to the issue at stake. While presenting himself and what he stands for, all the same, the farmer exposes the students to something in the world: his attachment to the planet and his experiences of taking care for a farm in a way that puts this planet first. We observed how this showing who one is and what one stands for occurred very explicitly here as one of the students actually asked the farmer 'who he is'. His narrative about an attachment to the planet and his embodied experiences caught the students' interest and attention. It is this very particular attachment to the world that is central in his relation towards the other, i.e. the students. As Simons and Masschelein argue the relation between the master (as a teacher) and the other (the pupils) is in a certain respect secondary. It is the responsibility for the world and the care for oneself being in that world that *opens up* a world for the students. The farmer's attachment to the world invites them to get interested and involved (that is, to explore the issue, expand the assemblage around it, clarify one's attachments, etc.). All the same, it offers them a kind of touchstone. By showing his mastery, by showing who he is and what he stands for, the farmer encourages the students to take up the opportunity to verify whether their own thinking and doing are in accordance. Education as a response (Vandenabeele & Wildemeersch, 2012) thus emerges here as a derivative of mastery: the care for a sustainability issue is central in the master's relation to the students and offers them an invitation to come to *closure* by exploring the issue and the multiplicity of attachments entangled in it and by verifying whether their thinking and doing are in accordance. As such, an educational closure is always tentative as a new encounter, a next invitation to explore the issue, another appeal to a response might of course offer new touchstones.

Concluding remarks

The concepts of attachments, response, mastery, and closure allowed us to articulate how taking up responsibility for a matter of concern can incite an educational dynamic that moves beyond the dichotomy between, on the one hand, teaching matters of fact about sustainable agriculture and, on the other, the cultivation of a sheer plurality of values, opinions, and preferences[3]. The appeal made to the students to respond to the farmer's attachment that is embodied in the farm, the crops, the shareholders, (volunteer) work at the farm, etc. moves beyond an anything goes relativism. At the same time, however, it can neither be regarded as indoctrination considering the efforts made to explore the issue, expand the assemblage around it and enact the mutually exclusive attachments entangled in it. As Marres (2005) puts it: issues cannot be reduced to aspects of (political) discourse; an environment "out there" and the

attachments it brings about is precisely what is at stake. This is indeed what our case study has shown. The farmer's efforts to take care of his attachment to the planet by establishing a farm (out there) – that is, the way in which he strives for a closure in his own way of farming – enables the enactment, exploration, and confrontation of mutually exclusive attachments. The attachment to the world is central in the farmer's relation to the visiting students and invites them to explore the multiplicity of attachments entangled in a particular issue. As such, the guided tour is an invitation for a response (Vandenabeele & Wildemeersch, 2012), for an educational closure by verifying whether their thinking and doing are in accordance, encouraging both the farmer and the students to take into account the multiplicity of views, values, interests and knowledge claims without resorting to an anything goes relativism and neglect of the far-reaching implications and injustices brought about by many sustainability issues.

Endnotes

[1] The analysis we present is part of a broader doctoral research project in which 7 cases are studied (see also Van Poeck, 2013). Besides the present case study we analysed the project *Environmental Performance at School* (Milieuzorg Op School – MOS), an environmental education centre, the *Transition Towns Network* in Flanders, a "transition arena" aiming to make a city climate neutral, a regional centre for action, culture, and youth, and an organisation that offers workshops to promote ecological behaviour change. We gathered data by combining an extensive document analysis with in-depth interviews (19) and direct observations (45). In this article we highlight the analysis of one particular activity that pre-eminently allowed us to grasp the educational dynamic brought about by the search for balance between sustainability concerns and acknowledging pluralism.

[2] CSA came about 1960s in Germany, Switzerland and Japan as a response to concerns about food safety and the urbanization of agricultural land. The aim was to develop an alternative, locally-based socio-economic model of agriculture and food distribution. Groups of consumers and farmers formed cooperative partnerships to fund farming and pay the full costs of what they consider ecologically sound and socially equitable agriculture. In particular, members or shareholders of the farm pledge in advance to cover the anticipated costs of the farm operation and farmer's salary. Once harvesting begins, they receive weekly shares of vegetables and fruit (and also sometimes herbs, cut flowers, honey, eggs, dairy products and meat). Thus, growers and consumers share the risks and benefits of food production and the farmland becomes, either legally or spiritually, the community's farm. As community members directly provide the farmer with working capital in advance, growers receive better prices for their crops and gain some financial security. In Europe, many of the CSA style farms were inspired by the economic ideas of Rudolf Steiner and experiments with community agriculture took place on farms using biodynamic agriculture.

[3] Articulating an understanding of education in relation to matters of concern was the purpose of this case study. Therefore, we focused on an educational *practice* – more precisely on the interaction between an educator, students, and the issue at stake – and on the particular setting in which this emerged instead of on individual achievements or the acquisition of particular competences. As a result, our analysis does not allow to conclude whether or not (all) the students *achieved* closure and how they experienced this. Answering such questions was not the aim of the case study and would in fact require further research with a different methodology. What we did want to bring to the fore, is how the farmer's care for an issue appealed to a response from the students and thereby opened up the *possibility* for closure.

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Aims & Scope

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